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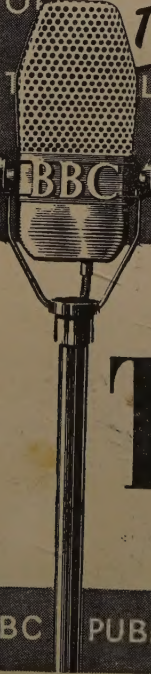
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The Listener

THE FORTNIGHTLY

OCTOBER, 1948

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT : WHAT NEXT ?

BY HERMANN MANNHEIM

THERE are three aspects to the question of capital punishment : first the moral-humanitarian-religious ; secondly, the popular, the views, prejudices and superstitions of the man in the street ; and, lastly, the scientific, the penological, psychiatric, sociological—in short, the accumulated knowledge and experience of the experts of various brands. The ideal would be a complete integration and reconciliation of all three viewpoints but, failing this, without at least a certain minimum support from each, no lasting solution will be possible.

As events of recent months have shown, the abolitionists have been relying mostly on humanitarian and, to some extent, on scientific considerations, whereas the strength of the anti-abolitionist camp is almost wholly derived from popular arguments. As far as the Government is concerned, it has been vacillating between the two extremes, while the voice of the penologist has only occasionally and dimly been heard crying in the wilderness.

In brief, the abolitionist argument is this : capital punishment is a barbarous anomaly in an otherwise humane penal system ; as experiences of many other countries have shown, it is unnecessary as a deterrent ; moreover, it is in many respects dangerous and harmful, in particular because of the possibility of miscarriages of justice. The anti-abolitionists reply that capital punishment is less inhuman than the proposed alternative of life imprisonment ; that it is indispensable as a deterrent (foreign experiences are inapplicable to conditions in this country) and because the man in the street, alarmed by the recent increase in crimes of violence, insists on its continuance ; and that the danger of miscarriages of justice is negligible under a well-ordered administration of criminal justice.

The Government, apparently with no particularly strong convictions on either of these points, hits on the most obvious compromise of distinguishing between different types of murder. The formula chosen is easily demolished by the forensic skill of the anti-abolitionist camp ; the Government is defeated in the House of Lords, and this, for the time being, has put an end to the matter.

To carry through a great piece of law reform on a controversial issue, bound to arouse the profoundest emotions and prejudices of the masses, one needs both strong personal convictions and the most thorough scientific preparation. This applies to legislative no less than to tank battles. While strong personal convictions cannot be requisitioned at

will, research can be instigated by Government action. When the new national insurance scheme reached its first preparatory stage during the war, Sir William (now Lord) Beveridge was asked by the Minister concerned to submit a report. On our problem, no research worth mentioning was set in motion by the Government in connection with the introduction of the Criminal Justice Bill although it was clear from the beginning that the question of capital punishment would become a burning issue in the course of the parliamentary proceedings. It might be retorted that a considerable amount of valuable information had already been collected by the Select Committee on Capital Punishment which reported in 1930. However, this material has inevitably become out of date in many respects. Nor were the methods employed by the Committee of the standard required for scientific purposes. Particularly unsatisfactory is, at least as far as conditions abroad are concerned, the technique of relying almost exclusively on oral or written evidence by *ad hoc* witnesses, instead of studying first and foremost the vast amount of printed material already in existence in most countries—a procedure which, though more laborious and time-consuming, is more likely to yield reliable results. This does not mean that the traditional technique employed by royal commissions and departmental committees is valueless. It has no doubt very considerable merits, in particular because of the opportunity which it affords of personally examining and cross-examining lay witnesses and expert witnesses. On the other hand, the weaknesses of that technique have been so clearly exposed in more recent years that it should at least be supplemented, as a matter of course, by other research methods.

It was significant that during the recent debates in the House of Commons one of the speakers who had been a member of the departmental committee of 1930 indicated that of the two American expert witnesses at the disposal of the committee the one who had appeared in person and subjected himself to cross-examination had impressed him more than the one who had merely submitted a written memorandum. (Hansard, April 14, 1948, col. 1058.) Although, from the layman's point of view, this is easily understandable, it remains nevertheless true that such chance factors should not be decisive in scientific investigations, and it should also be clear that an impressive presence and quickness in repartee are not necessarily the most valuable equipment of the successful research worker who needs patience, imagination and knowledge of his material and research techniques more than anything else.

Finally, it has to be remembered that on certain important points the committee of 1930, though apparently well aware of what was needed, proved to be incapable of obtaining the desired information. For example, with reference to an analysis, published in the Criminal Statistics for 1905, of the "motives or causes of murders committed by all persons convicted of murder in England and Wales during the twenty years ending 1905" the Report of 1930 states (p. 21): "We should have desired that the Home

Office analysis had been brought up to date, but their witnesses explained to us that the various forms and causes of murder interlaced and overlapped one another and that it had not been thought useful to continue the analysis beyond 1905."

Surely, this is a most important point. It is hardly more than a commonplace to say that any reasonable debate on the punishment for murder should be preceded by a painstaking inquiry into the psychological, physical and social characteristics of an adequate sample (at least a few hundred cases) of persons who have committed murder and into the causes and motives of their crimes. This sample should include not only an adequate proportion of murderers found insane but, as far as possible, also data about those who committed suicide (in 1946, the last year for which figures have been published, in thirty-one of a total of 113 cases of murder of persons aged one year and over, the murderer or suspected murderer committed suicide). Only by means of such an analysis can we expect to obtain some objective data on such points as the frequency of premeditated, "cold-blooded" murder, the degree of "moral wickedness" involved, perhaps even on the potential deterrent effect of the death penalty, and many others. Illustrative cases supplied by those distinguished speakers who took part in the recent parliamentary debates, either from their own judicial experiences or from second-hand sources such as press reports, useful and impressive as no doubt they are, can in no way take the place of the comprehensive study which we have in mind.

The present writer knows from his own practical work, covering not only trials but also prosecutions and preliminary investigations on charges of murder, how much the information obtained during the trial itself is usually limited to the mere "facts" of the crime itself—facts which may tell comparatively little of the real story. This view is further confirmed by the impression gained from a study of the very carefully edited volumes of the "Notable British Trials Series" or "The Old Bailey Trial Series" and from the published recollections of eminent high court judges. Nobody would, of course, be content nowadays with an analysis on the lines of that published in 1905 with its crude psychological and sociological armoury. Between then and now we have had some outstanding developments, including Freud and his followers, which have not only shed new light on the psychology of crime in general but also given us a small number of illuminating case studies of murderers, such as Robert Lindner's *Rebel Without Cause* and Frederic Wertham's *Dark Legend*. We have had Andreas Bjerre's careful, though perhaps less penetrating observations on the *Psychology of Murder*, based on Adlerian ideas; and on the sociological side H. C. Brearley's *Homicide in the United States* and some detailed statistical investigations carried out in Germany.

I do not, for a moment, claim that these researches have solved all the problems which the legislator has to face when he tackles the thorny subject of capital punishment; nevertheless, familiarity with their

methods and results will reduce the danger of merely repeating all the old and long exploded slogans. There is no doubt much truth in the contention, for example, that foreign experiences cannot be applied indiscriminately to conditions in this country. Nevertheless, simply to contend that conditions are totally different here from those existing in abolitionist countries without taking the trouble to study carefully these differences seems unsatisfactory. It has repeatedly been asserted —by Sir John Anderson, for instance (Hansard, April 14, 1948, col. 1002)— that the absence of an increase in the frequency of murder in abolitionist States such as the Scandinavian countries proves nothing as they possess no great cities comparable in size to London or Glasgow, the tacit assumption being that the very big city has necessarily the highest murder rate and presents the most difficult problem for the preventive efforts of the legislator.

How far is this actually borne out by the available information? The volumes of Criminal Statistics for England and Wales have become so incomplete since the start of the 1939-45 war that no information regarding the local distribution of crime can be extracted from them. But in the period 1936-1938 altogether 375 cases of murder had become known to the Police in England and Wales (estimated population, forty millions). Of these 375 cases, 104 had been committed in the Metropolitan Police District, Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham (estimated population together, ten and three-quarter millions), which is only slightly more than their proportionate share. This may be surprising in view of the generally accepted fact that there is more crime in urban than in rural districts. Professor Brearley, in the book already referred to, shows that in the great majority of states of the U.S.A. the homicide rate is higher in towns than in the country. On the other hand, these differences are much less significant than those between the different states regardless of population density. For example, whereas according to Professor Brearley the homicide rate per 100,000 of population was 8.26 for the whole of the U.S.A. for the period 1919-1927, it was only 1.43 in Vermont and 4.82 in New York state as against 29.55 in Florida. The difference between New York state and the Southern, far less densely populated and industrialized, states is considerably greater than that between the urban and rural districts of New York. This is also borne out for the immediate pre-war years by figures supplied by the National Council for the Abolition of the Death Penalty. The abolitionist states of the U.S.A., as Mr. John Paton has recently reminded us (Hansard, April 14, 1948, col. 1015) include Michigan with Detroit, one of the most highly industrialized cities of the world, but its murder rate is not only substantially lower than that of Illinois or California but also incomparably lower than that of the agricultural Southern states. The frequency of homicide in the U.S.A. seems to depend on racial characteristics and racial tension rather than on the degree of industrialization.

Needless to say, the bare figures of crime statistics can never give a completely reliable picture of the actual position. One would have to know much more of the details of each locality and of individual cases to form a definite opinion about the actual effect of very complex social factors such as life in big cities, and I have selected the question of population density and extent of industrialization merely as an illustration to show that we are still too easily inclined to take matters for granted and to base our arguments on points which are in fact still greatly in need of further investigation. One cannot but agree with one of the speakers in the House of Commons debate of April 14 (Mr. Donovan, Hansard, col. 1028) who said : " I listened in order to detect, if I could, that differentiating factor in other countries which would make even the trial of this experiment unsafe in this country. I am bound to say that I did not hear it . . . " Not one of the subsequent speakers, including those participating in the House of Lords debate, has even attempted to provide the missing evidence that, in the words of the Attorney-General, " the result of abolition would be different in, say, Dundee to what it was in Detroit or different in Birmingham to what it was in Brussels " (Hansard, July 15, 1948, col. 1425).

II

In view of the conspicuous part which the question of grading has played in the parliamentary debates it must be dealt with briefly here. What has so far been said about the absence of any systematic collection of scientific data applies only with some modification to the question of grading. Efforts of some kind or other to establish various degrees of murder have of course been made in many countries for a very long time. They form only one part of the more comprehensive problem of how to distinguish degrees of killing, that is to define the difference between murder, voluntary and involuntary manslaughter, and accident. This is a problem which exists, quite independently of that of capital punishment, just as much in abolitionist countries. There are limitless varieties and combinations in the art of killing, some of them fundamentally affecting the severity of our judgment. It is a matter of legislative technique, involving of course issues of much greater complexity than purely technical ones, how far these distinctions should be embodied in a statute or left to the discretion of some judicial or administrative authority. Moreover, if the matter is dealt with, wholly or in part, by statutory definition, it is again the task of the legislator to determine the character of his definitions, whether the statute should attempt to settle in rigid terms any conceivable point of detail, leaving as little as possible to judicial interpretation, or whether the legislator should be content to indicate, by means of broad and elastic conceptions, the general policy to be pursued.

In a way, we are here concerned only with two different aspects of the one question of how to distribute power between legislative, judiciary, and

executive. Power can be delegated by the legislator either by refusing to settle certain issues altogether or by settling them in such a way as to leave the decision of important points to the courts or the administration. Where trial is by jury further complications arise from the necessity to define the respective competence of judge and jury. In addition to such questions of competence, the legislator has to choose whether his definitions should be based on objective or on subjective criteria or whether they should be mixtures of both.

The comparative history of the law of homicide shows an immense variety of techniques, and to give an idea of the different systems employed a comprehensive volume would be needed. Speaking generally, however, one finds a tendency in modern Continental legislation to employ wide and elastic terms instead of making attempts, regarded as more or less futile, to limit judicial discretion. Occasionally, this means the use of words capable of very different interpretation in the hands of different judges, for example, in the Swiss Federal Penal Code of 1937 which defines murder as "killing under circumstances or with a premeditation revealing a particularly wicked state of mind or particular dangerousness," whereas manslaughter is characterized by a "strong emotion which appears excusable in the circumstances." In Swiss law, the difference is, however not one of life or death but merely one between life imprisonment for murder and a maximum of ten years penal servitude for manslaughter. In addition, the Swiss Code has a general provision for homicide falling under neither of these extreme categories, with a minimum penalty of five and a maximum of twenty years penal servitude. A Nazi statute of 1941 defined the murderer as a person who kills "for the sake of killing, or to satisfy his sexual lust, or out of greed or from other base motives, or with special malice or cruelty or in a manner dangerous to the whole community or in order to facilitate or to cover the commission of another offence." This is characteristic of the usual emphasis in Nazi legislation on the motives of the criminal at the expense of criteria of a more objective nature.

U.S.A. legislative technique, on the other hand, is rather in favour of a combination of both objective and subjective elements, and it is in this connection in particular that the various definitions of first degree murder in American statutes are of immediate practical interest to us at the present stage. The Select Committee of 1930 secured some information on the American system of grading ; it appears doubtful, however, whether an adequate picture of the extremely complicated legal position was in fact obtained.

The first American state to introduce statutory degrees of murder was Pennsylvania in 1794. Since then, most other states have followed suit, while in a small minority capital punishment has been retained absolutely or the choice between capital punishment and life imprisonment is left to the discretion of the courts. Some states have several degrees not only of murder but of manslaughter as well ; and Wisconsin is stated

to hold the record with three degrees of murder and four of manslaughter. The general pattern used in twenty-six of the states which distinguish degrees of murder reserves capital punishment for murder "perpetrated by means of poison, or lying in wait, or any other kind of wilful, deliberate and premeditated killing, or committed in the perpetration, or attempt to perpetrate any arson, rape, robbery or burglary." Although important states such as New York and Massachusetts use other patterns, they all have in common the emphasis on deliberation and premeditation and they all single out for special attention murder perpetrated in the course of committing some other serious crime. The general impression conveyed by a study of the statutes and the writings of American experts is one of confusion rather than of clarity, and it can hardly be said that American legislation on the subject could provide us with a suitable example. It should, nevertheless, be carefully examined as demonstrating, more convincingly perhaps than the law of any other country, certain inherent limitations of legislative technique. In any case, it is not surprising that the Report of 1930 expressed itself against the grading of murder although it concluded that in spite of existing difficulties grading "may possibly have a place in the future of the Penal Code of our country."

There is one further point to which attention might be drawn in this connection as it has some special bearing on the English law of homicide : the general dissatisfaction with what is regarded as the essential psychological criterion of murder, deliberation and premeditation. The meaning of these two words has been watered down by the courts so much that it no longer requires even the two elements of "cold blood" and the lapse of some appreciable time between planning and execution. The result is that, in the words of Mr. Justice Cardozo in a famous address to the New York Academy of Medicine in 1928, the distinction has become "so obscure that no jury hearing it for the first time can fairly be expected to assimilate and understand it. I am not at all sure that I understand it myself. . . . Upon the basis of this fine distinction with its obscure and mystifying psychology, scores of men have gone to their death. . . . I think the distinction is much too vague to be continued in our law."*

The corresponding phrase in English law is "malice aforethought." As Lord Simonds said in the House of Lords (July 20, 1948, col. 1045), these words "have from time to time received a varying interpretation to satisfy the changing conditions and the changing conscience of the people." With great respect, is this not simply an eloquent way of saying that the phrase can always be made to mean what the judges of the day believe it should mean? As Kenny, the great text-book writer of modern English criminal law, puts it, the words have become a "mere arbitrary symbol. For the 'malice' may have in it nothing really malicious; and need never be really 'aforethought'." Can such an "arbitrary symbol", particularly in the hands of untrained jurors, be

**Law and Literature* (1931), p. 96 and seq.

regarded as a secure basis for a judgment on life or death ?

If we now turn to the recent Government proposals, defeated in the House of Lords, there is first the surprising fact that, according to the explanation given by the Attorney-General (Hansard, July 15, 1948, col. 1430), the intention of the Government was not "to define degrees of murder, to classify cases according to the heinousness or moral gravity of the offence . . . The purpose of the new Clause is to include those cases in which public opinion feels that the suspension of the existing arrangements in regard to the death penalty might involve risks which ought not to be taken at this time." Or, as the Lord Chancellor explained (House of Lords, July 20, 1948, col. 1010), the object was to select "those particular categories of murder in which the death penalty definitely has a deterrent effect."

It is difficult to admit that there is any real difference between these Government proposals and the old idea of grading. There is hardly any evidence to show that the object of establishing degrees of murder has been to introduce moral distinctions at the expense of considerations of deterrence. However, whether or not the Government scheme may be called one of grading, the decisive arguments against any scheme based explicitly on considerations of deterrence to the exclusion of those of morality are, first, that we have no real knowledge of the deterrent effect of capital punishment on specific categories of murderers, and secondly, that such differences as do no doubt exist in this respect are more likely to be connected with types of personality than with types of action, whereas the distinctions proposed by the Government were largely distinctions on the basis of types of activity (the systematic poisoner, the recidivist murderer, the murderer in prison or about to commit some other offence, and so on) which are not necessarily identical with personality types. Thirdly, a differentiation based on considerations of deterrence instead of morality may well appeal to the scientific mind ; it will be entirely unsuitable for a jury whose moral feelings may be outraged by it. Moreover, as has been so cogently stressed in the House of Lords, the proposed categories would have burdened the trial with excessive complications, reminiscent of French trials of 150 years ago with sometimes several thousand separate "questions" to be put to the jury.

III

The conclusions to be drawn are these. As long as capital punishment remains, it will be futile to pin one's faith upon new legislative formulae and distinctions between degrees of murder. With one exception : the "constructive" murder of English law which can, and should be, abolished by legislative action regardless of the question of the death penalty. The Government proposals (sub-section 4) attempted this by introducing the new conception of "express malice" but, apart from other minor blemishes, the attempt, as the Lord Chief Justice has

pointed out in the House of Lords, was limited to capital cases instead of applying to murder in general.

Apart from this one point of constructive murder, no improvements can be expected from new definitions of murder since no formulae will be strong enough to provide a basis for decisions on life and death. Without capital punishment, fairly satisfactory definitions, as the Swiss example shows, can be found, and hardships can always be adjusted by the court. As long as the death penalty remains, the legislator will have to continue to delegate the supreme responsibility. To whom, however, should it be delegated ? To leave the decision to the jurors is clearly impossible as it would be entirely beyond the capacity of their untrained minds. The public prosecutor would be an equally impossible choice as his impartiality might be questioned by the public. The principal objection to leaving it to the judge is that the responsibility is too heavy for one man whoever he may be, and that different judges might have different policies. The former, though not the latter, consideration applies equally to the present system ; although the Home Secretary is, of course, greatly assisted by his advisers the ultimate result rests on his decision alone. A special tribunal, under the chairmanship of the Home Secretary, of which the trial judge would be a member, might be a better solution.

However that may be, it should be borne in mind that, in any case, the days of capital punishment are limited. What matters most is that the present interval should be used to prepare the ground by adequate scientific investigation of the kind referred to at the beginning of this article. Too much has so far been left in this respect to private initiative, though the National Council for the Abolition of the Death Penalty has done excellent spade work within the narrow limits of its resources. It is now for the Government, which have just been granted the power under the Criminal Justice Act to spend money on research, to take over and greatly to expand the research activities of that body, as distinct from its propaganda work. If, by the time the results of the investigation are available, the crime situation should have improved, abolition may become practical politics.

PSYCHOLOGY AND THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

BY RANYARD WEST

WHEN the United Nations Charter was published three years ago comments upon it were made by statesmen, lawyers and political theorists. The statesmen, and particularly the spokesmen and publicists of governments, accepted the implement and went out of their way to express confidence in the resolution with which it would be used. The lawyers were more cautious. Temperament and training both conspire to make the lawyer less liable than the politician to confuse the desirable with the probable; and his experience has enabled him to generalize with some success the conditions under which guiding rules are kept and the conditions under which they are broken. The political theorists, on the other hand, were divided; for, outside economics, the political theorists have little to guide them in any new situation except the all too slender scientific contribution of political psychology. What this contribution should be is the subject of consideration in this article.

Political psychology is a comparatively new study. From time to time the shrewd observations of the ancients and the quite as shrewd and much more pertinent observations of the political philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been set alongside more modern ponderings of the ways of man as a social animal; and the result has been called "social psychology" and taught as such in the universities. That is well enough; and no doubt the subject of social psychology will ultimately attain the standing and fulfil the criteria of a science, provided its exponents are really prepared to equip themselves with an understanding of the two disciplines which really have advanced our recent knowledge of the nature of man, namely the physiology of the nervous system and the psychology of unconscious motivation which bears the name of Freud. It is to these disciplines, too, that we have to turn if a more strictly confined political psychology is to make its contribution to current political problems.

The basis of the physiology of the nervous system is the "reflex," that characteristic feature of life which man shares with the animal world and the essence of which is an appropriate response to environment. At the bottom come such elementary responses as that which automatically removes a limb from danger or blinks the eye when the eyelash is touched. It is such reflexes that are built up into the highly elaborate but essentially automatic acts of locomotion—walking, running and the like—and the

complicated safety apparatus of daily life which frees the higher brain of man for higher functions. Responses that upon the whole are useful to the race we find retained by the race, the rest are shed. And at the end of the story we find mankind performing a large number of acts which (despite his tendency to flatter his intellect in the matter) are appropriate to his life and his place in nature, but essentially outside the control of his will. Upon the whole our reflex responses tend to preserve our lives and make for our happiness. Having been built up slowly by our ancestors, our reflexes—which insensibly merge with our “instincts”—may nevertheless be ill-adapted to situations that are really new to the race. We are instinctively protected against gravity when we are on foot, but we have to be intellectually protected against gravity when we go on skis. And our petty instinctive coverings from danger are often more appropriate to primeval forests than they are to modern warfare. And so on. But it is not always that our reflexes and our instincts are concerned with our personal safety. Man is a gregarious animal; he has instinctively felt duties to his fellows. The instincts of sex apart, we all have two great and often contradictory drives running through our lives. One of these drives is the impulse to dominate, or the linked impulses to survive and dominate. The other is the impulse to congregate, with its necessary emotion of loyalty.

It is at this point that Freudian psychology enters. We have always known that love is blind, that rage perverts judgment, that desire distorts, that fear fabricates. But it was left to practical psychoanalysis to discover that human actions are swayed by love and rage and desire and fear far more deeply and complexly than intellectual man has been in the habit of confessing to himself or indeed possessed the means of knowing. Essentially this is so because processes that started as “animal reflexes” and continued as “primitive instincts” go on operating, as one might expect they would, in the same sort of way and with the same general purpose upon the mind of “civilized” man. They operate unconsciously. The purpose of such unconscious control of our actions is to see to it that we follow the biological pattern upon which our species has evolved, the familiar pattern of individual competition combined with social groupings. The most important reason for social grouping is power.

During the course of ages our present “civilized” society has taken its shape from these two opposite thrusts of human sociability and human competitiveness, the urge to establish oneself and the urge to be loyal to one's fellows. In distribution these two qualities are not mutually exclusive: in respect of human sociability nature has not divided us up into sheep and goats. That is a human classification which tends to be favoured by those who would repudiate the goat in themselves. Sociability, with its social instinct and its passionate loyalties, exists alongside competitiveness, with its self-assertive instinct and its selfishness, in every human being. The psychoanalyst insists that the two qualities are often deeply

interwoven and confused with each other ; and we may certainly observe them emerge in close association often with some embarrassment to the rational mind of their possessor. It is here that the lawyer assists us by emphasizing one very constant and important feature of this apparent conflict of human instincts. He bids us note that in no organized society is it possible to guarantee the superiority of social over selfish instincts. You cannot maintain order upon the presumption that any individuals are truly capable of justly estimating their own rights and amicably settling their own disputes themselves. Disputes between honest men require just as much judicial settlement as disputes between knaves. The bias of human judgment towards personal advantage is such that municipal law has long proceeded upon the firm axiom that "no man can be admitted a judge of his own cause."

The social psychologist is often asked to what extent such reactions of the individual in respect of law and order in a community of individuals is paralleled by the reactions of a group among other groups, or a nation in a world of States. If the social psychologist has made himself master of the truths of Freudian psychology he can only give one answer to this question. The biological reason for the grouping of men is security and power. And in no power-group, whether of class or nation, can we expect to find competitive selfish or aggressive impulses diminished by their being the shared impulses of individuals. By being shared they are merely turned, in full force, outwards. Moreover, while competitive aggressive impulses coalesce and wax within the power-group, the prejudices which are held in common within a power-group are prejudices which thereby become enhanced. For prejudice is a matter of repeated uncontradicted impressions. Finally, conscience, that great brake upon the selfish competitiveness of individuals, is well-nigh absent from the group. For social conscience is in large measure mere dread of the criticism of our fellows ; and where our fellows are upon our side there will be no criticism. Thus for three good reasons—united aggressiveness, enhanced prejudice, diminished social conscience—we may expect that the fundamental process of law with force, which has been needed by individuals throughout their development within a national society, will be needed *a fortiori* by groups and nations when they eventually come into association to form a world society.

With this knowledge in mind let us turn to the latest institutional expression of the determination of mankind to achieve orderly world government, the United Nations Charter of 1945. We have reason to believe that power-groups as such are : (1) incapable of judging their own cause without prejudice ; (2) incapable of keeping an agreement once their prejudices tell them they may break it ; (3) largely prevented by defects of conscience from incurring any sense of obligation outside their borders. They are also (4) endowed with accumulated, ready and self-righteous aggressiveness against a rival or a thwarting neighbour. By virtue of the

ery claim of "sovereignty" States to brook no external definition of their rights, privileges and spheres of influence, great powers are bound to and in each other rival and thwarting neighbours. In the light of these facts and by the criteria of political psychology how do the main provisions of the United Nations Charter appear?

"In all matters other than security the General Assembly is supreme," (p. 17).^{*} Since in our task of preventing war it is security with which we are primarily concerned this single phrase would appear to relegate to impotence the General Assembly, in which all nations are represented. It is generally admitted that that has in fact occurred. We therefore come at once to the Security Council where power resides or was intended to reside. Let us examine its strength for peace. The Security Council is composed of eleven members. Of these, five hold permanent seats; they are the great powers. The remaining seats are held by lesser powers in rotation. The Council may call upon armed force if they are in agreement to do so, but the armed forces which are then required to be put at its disposal are held by the great powers as separate national forces merely earmarked for use by the United Nations. There have been talks and recommendations about an international general staff but no move hitherto to centralize any actual force. It was clear that the great powers (and especially the United States, the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain) were intended by the Charter to control the forces of the world, though these were to remain divided as heretofore into national elements.

What is the nature of the obligation which the great powers incur to place their forces in the hands of the United Nations Organization? It is of the nature of a promise. The governments *undertake* to act in accordance with the decisions of the Council and they *give solemn undertaking* not to use their forces for purely national ends.

Attempting to secure international peace by promise was essentially the method of the League of Nations. It is psychologically inaccurate to say, as Mr. Churchill once said, that the machinery of the League was adequate if only it had been worked. It is more accurate to say that the machinery of the League was inadequate because it could not, humanly, be worked. If only men acted differently from how their nature makes them act! Not even among normal individuals is a promise an adequate guarantee of right social action. Between groups it is, by all the tokens of group psychology that the writer has listed a hopelessly inadequate guarantee doomed to certain failure.

The world has had ample experience in this field. The system of municipal law which we all enjoy, and to which we might sometimes, perhaps, make warmer acknowledgments, is successful in maintaining law and order among us only when and where it has replaced promise by enforceable contract and substituted for judgment by the parties concerned

^{*}All references are to the Official "*Commentary on the Charter of the United Nations*" (Misc. No. 9, 1945). Cmd. 6666.

an external judgment provided by the State. That combination of external judgment supported by force is what lawyers have come to regard as the essence of "positive law". It is three hundred years since Grotius failed to find in international law a means of limiting national sovereignties and it is over a hundred years since a great British legal authority, Austin, felt forced to describe international law as "not positive law at all but a brand of positive morality."

It is then a little surprising that the international lawyers have not been more definite in their condemnation of the United Nations Charter. The late Lord Birkenhead could have written as frankly to-day as he did in 1918 when he described the rules of international law as "mere pious aspirations." But, too cautious as the lawyers so often are, whether in condemnation or approval, from the standpoint of the present knowledge which the young science of political psychology possesses we may confidently describe the United Nations Charter as giving us a weapon no stronger, but, in fact more brittle than we were given in 1919 by the League of Nations with the greater chance of dispassionate judgment which derived from its wider basis in a stronger Assembly. The only favourable comment we can make is that to-day we know more certainly than we knew then where the fault lies.

The primary mistake at San Francisco, as at Versailles, was to make demands of human nature which human nature is not constructed to fulfil. If promises were not so much at the mercy of later and different impulses, we should not bother to exact promises from our friends and from ourselves. Only that sense of social obligation which operates through a carefully educated conscience can ever induce civilized man to keep his promises even to those who are "in community" with him. Education and the moral law despite, there has not yet evolved a human relationship so close but that the law must supplement promises by introducing the firmer guarantee of legal contract. Without a legal contract and provision for external judgment the would-be members of that loosely knit newly conceived and frail community of our world society are doomed to disappointment of all their hopes of order and peace. Whatever other machinery of peace may be necessary and desirable, a judicial body of neutral opinion must be available and marshalled ready to resolve the disputes of any contesting parties. And the force of the world must be organized in support of that judicial body of neutral opinion and not divided between the contesting promisors, which is where at present it still rests.

It is a hard saying. Force rests with the national group "instinctively". But our human situation is a new one. Humanity has to question its instincts and marshal its intelligence if, from out of the age-old habits of to-day it is to win the world order of the future. Psychology demands a revision of the United Nations Charter.

MR. CHURCHILL AND THE UNNECESSARY WAR

BY SIR HAROLD BUTLER

WITH this tragic volume* Mr. Churchill opens his story of the second phase of the Thirty Years War. As it unfolds, the reader becomes growingly oppressed by the sense of an inexorable fate driving the world relentlessly forward towards unfathomable disaster. At each turning point on the downward path another chance of arresting the march of doom was thrown away by human blindness, weakness and folly—and as if they could not always be relied upon, astonishing strokes of sheer ill-fortune came to their assistance. Half a dozen times clear thinking and resolute action could have checked Hitler's course, but on each occasion the stars seemed to fight on the side of darkness, until Europe took the fatal but inevitable plunge into the abyss. Mr. Churchill believes—and history is not likely to disown him—that the war “which has just wrecked what was left of the world from the previous struggle” might easily have been avoided—as easily as the Thirty Years War between Athens and Sparta, which brought down the Greek world in ruin. The tragic muse has never devised a more poignant tale of human perversity, and it has found a dramatist worthy of its theme.

It is indeed “a sad story of complicated idiocy in the making of which much toil and virtue was consumed.” Mr. Churchill does not depreciate the lofty principles and the blameless intentions which paved the way to disaster. He refrains from loosing any of those flashing barbs with which he is so skilled in wounding his opponents in debate. In the after lights he has “softened many of the severities of contemporary controversy.” His narrative runs on the high plane of history, its tone serene and magnanimous, even when dealing with events which must have provoked acute personal resentment. Mr. Baldwin's misstatements as to German armament, his self-confessed refusal to tell the country the truth about it for fear of losing the next election—which carried “naked truth about its motives into indecency”—his marked repugnance to taking Mr. Churchill as a colleague, all this is unsparingly, but equably recited. So too Mr. Chamberlain's virtues are emphasized in sharp antithesis to his complete failure to grasp the true nature of the dictators and of the European situation. The patently contradictory attitude of the Labour and Liberal Parties is exposed, calling for sanctions, for collective security, for resolute League action against aggression, while vigorously opposing

any increase of our armed strength, which alone could make them feasible. But their shortcomings appear less heinous than those of the Conservative Party, which had the power to meet the threat to our existence, but deliberately bemused itself and the nation for fear of shocking its pacific mood. Indeed, the whole political scene was "a picture of British fatuity and fecklessness, which though devoid of guile was not devoid of guilt, and though free from wickedness or evil design, played a definite part in the unleashing upon the world of horrors and miseries, which, even so far as have unfolded, are already beyond comparison in human experience." This too is likely to be the judgment of the future.

The book falls into two parts—the inter-war period and the "twilight war" ending with Mr. Chamberlain's fall from office. Each part strikes a characteristic note echoing the feelings and temperament of the writer, though the undertone of advancing fate is common to both. During the eleven years preceding the outbreak of war, Mr. Churchill was chafing in the desert. He saw better than anyone what the rearmament of Germany portended. From May 1932 onwards he began his long series of warnings preaching "arms and the Covenant" as the only means of maintaining peace. His information, which has now been proved remarkably accurate by captured German documents, was either rejected by the Government as untrue or discounted when its truth was admitted. Nothing seemed capable of piercing the complacency of the Prime Ministers, the Parties or the nation. "It was like being smothered by a feather bed." In these circumstances it was hardly surprising that the author was filled with an overflowing sense of frustration and mounting despair, which runs like a dark thread through his narrative.

As to the actual course of events, there is little that is not already public knowledge, but the whole story is more sharply focussed by the personal experience of the writer and the use of post-war documents (Ciano, Nuremberg, etc.) to point the contrast between what the dictators were doing and planning and what the British and the French fondly imagined about them. As might be expected, Mr. Churchill condemns as unequivocally as he did at the time, the naval treaty concluded with Germany in 1935 behind the backs of the French. At a moment when the Government was appealing to the League against Hitler's violation of the military clauses of the Peace Treaty, it was actually sweeping away the naval clauses by a private agreement of which the League was not informed. The official defence that the German Government had been persuaded to abandon the unrestricted use of submarines against merchant ships reads strangely in the light of subsequent events. Not less outspoken is the judgment passed on the conduct of the Abyssinian affair and the exposure of the fear that we were unequal to facing Italy in the Mediterranean. Some new light is thrown on M. Flandin's visit to London in an attempt to persuade Mr. Baldwin to support France in resisting Hitler's breach of the Locarno Treaty by marching into the Rhineland. But France was

will strong enough to act alone, as the German generals knew well, and had the promise of support from Poland and the Little Entente. In the old days she would not have waited on British permission to act. Clemenceau or Poincaré would have left Mr. Baldwin no option" but to uphold the Treaty and strike a deadly blow at Hitler's prestige. The moral of these as of subsequent capitulations to the dictators was that virtuous motives trammelled by inertia and timidity are no match for armed and resolute wickedness."

Perhaps the most important disclosure is the fuller story of Mr. Eden's resignation in January 1938. President Roosevelt had offered to invite Britain, France, Germany and Italy to meet with the United States at Washington to consider the whole international situation, which was mainly drifting towards war. Without consulting his Foreign Secretary, who was temporarily absent, Mr. Chamberlain at once threw cold water on the proposal. When Mr. Eden returned in haste a few days later, he found it impossible to retrieve the position and resigned. Mr. Churchill evidently considers this episode almost as fatal as the failure of Britain and France to stand together over the Rhineland. As he says, "no event could have been more likely to stave off, or even prevent, war than the arrival of the United States in the circle of European hates and fears. To Britain it was a matter almost of life and death. No one can measure in retrospect its effects on the course of events in Austria and later in Munich. We must regard its rejection . . . as the loss of the last frail chance to save the world from tyranny otherwise than by war . . . The lack of all sense of proportion, and even of self-preservation, which this episode reveals in an upright, competent, well-meaning man, charged with the destinies of our country and all who depended on it, is appalling. One cannot to-day even reconstruct the state of mind which would render such gestures possible."

When it comes to Munich, Mr. Churchill has no doubt that in spite of their unpreparedness Britain and France were relatively in a far better position to fight then than a year later, and that if they had taken a firm stand with Russia, as he proposed at the time, war would probably have been averted. His demonstration of the immense military and political advantage reaped by Hitler during the year's "breathing space" is overwhelming, and is borne out by the German documents. It is even possible that the carefully laid plot organized by Generals Beck and von Witzleben to seize the Nazi leaders would not have miscarried. Orders had been issued for their arrest at 8 p.m. on September 14, 1938, and for a Panzer division to move into Berlin. At 4 p.m. these orders were cancelled on receipt of the news that Mr. Chamberlain was flying to meet Hitler at Berchtesgarden—one of the many strange quirks of fate which thwarted the chances of peace. After that the only hope was an alliance with Russia, without which the Polish guarantee was futile. But that too was thwarted by the hesitations caused by the refusal of the Poles and the

Baltic States to contemplate any arrangement with the Soviets. Hitler seized his opportunity and "penetrated with ease into the frail defences of the tardy, irresolute coalition against him."

So the war began, and the tone of the narrative changes. "As I sat in my place, listening to the speeches (on the declaration of war), a very strong sense of calm came over me after the intense passions and excitement of the past few days. I felt a serenity of mind and was conscious of a kind of uplifted detachment from human and personal affairs." Mr. Churchill moved out of the wilderness to the Admiralty, where at last he was able to throw all his energies into action. The gnawing frustration of the critic on the sidelines was swept away by the buoyancy of absorbing activity and his old love of the Navy. His mind ranged constantly over the whole field of war, not merely embracing the problems of higher strategy, but delving down into all kinds of technical details. He remembered some heavy howitzers which had been put away in cold storage after the first war. He conceived the corvette to meet the submarine menace in its new form. He pressed for an anti-waste campaign to conserve our resources—even of official envelopes. He designed a special mine to dislocate the German communications on the Rhine, which the French refused to countenance until it was too late. He projected a "mammoth mole" seventy-seven feet long and eight feet high, which would burrow out an enormous trench providing the infantry with cover in attacking fortified positions. These and a dozen other schemes were fermenting in his brain in addition to all the preoccupations and problems of the naval war. He was happy to be in harness again.

But as the war proceeded along its lethargic course, he became increasingly disturbed by the want of drive and direction; "the sense of extreme urgency seemed lacking" as anyone connected with the conduct of the war at that time will remember. The machinery was too complicated—Military Co-ordination Committee, Joint Planning Committee, Chiefs of Staff Committee, War Cabinet, Supreme War Council, all having to be consulted, conciliated and convinced. For seven months they debated the expediency of mining the territorial waters of Norway, through which the Germans were convoying vital iron-ore, British prisoners and other illegal cargoes—"vain boggling, hesitation, changes of policy, arguments between good and worthy people unending." The same indecision hung over the campaign in France, the measures to meet an attack through Belgium, the question of aiding Finland. When Hitler burst into Norway, these defects became glaringly apparent. No answer had been thought out, and the improvised attacks on Narvik and Trondheim broke down in abject failure. With the massive German onslaught on France impending, the Allies were altogether too weak to undertake these expeditions, and their miscarriage was one of those heavily disguised blessings in more senses than one. Among other things they had so depleted German power at sea that by June 1940 the German Navy was reduced to one

heavy cruiser, two light cruisers and four destroyers, a force incapable of lending any effective support to the invasion of Britain. But the greatest merit of the Norwegian adventure was that it brought down the Government and opened the way to a national administration with Mr. Churchill at its head.

The war is already so remote that we are beginning to forget the fearful perils which we so narrowly escaped. At a time when our situation remains extremely precarious, it is good to be reminded of them and of the tremendous exertions needed to overcome them, to which Mr. Churchill's future volumes will no doubt do greater justice than they have received. We are also beginning to lose sight of the factors which are vital to national survival in war, and which are hardly less necessary in difficult times of peace, as the story of the inter-war years so tragically illustrates. Among them strong leadership is the first essential. Vacillation, trimming and wishful thinking were the banes which brought us to the brink of disaster. When we came to that fateful pass, we were indeed fortunate to find a man who had complete confidence in himself and in the spirit of the country. No passage in this remarkable book is more striking than the author's description of his own feelings on being called upon to assume complete responsibility at the blackest moment of defeat and dismay. "As I went to bed at about 3 a.m., I was conscious of a profound sense of relief. At last I had authority to give directions over the whole scene. I felt as if I was walking with destiny and that all my past life had been but a preparation for this hour and for this trial. . . . I was sure I should not fail." Few men have met their supreme ordeal with such sublime faith, fewer still have proved so worthy of it in the event.

THE CASE OF HYDERABAD

BY OBSERVER

BEFORE the liquidation of the Indian Empire in 1947, one full third of the Indian Peninsula was divided into States under more or less independent rulers. Some of them were petty estates of a few square miles in extent : the rulers of Kashmir and Hyderabad controlled respectively areas equal to the British isles without Ireland. Out of India's four hundred millions of people, about ninety-three millions were subjects of the Indian Princes.

For a proper understanding of the problem of Kashmir and Hyderabad, it is necessary to keep in mind that, before the consolidation of all the elements of the Indian peninsula under British rule, there was no such unit as India. Originally the name of Ind, or Hind, applied to the regions along the river Indus, but there was never a central government controlling the whole of the land. The lack of communications alone made this inevitable ; and minor kingdoms and principalities flourished, sometimes increasing in area as the result of a successful war and sometimes disappearing altogether. The Moguls, external invaders like the British, extended their rule over a wide area and enforced the submission of hostile native princes, but there are many areas which never came under the Moguls. The widely different types of humanity, the varieties of religion and of language were well-nigh as many as those of the continent of Europe ; and, combined with the facts of backwardness and illiteracy, made it improbable that anything would ever have welded such heterogeneous units into one integral State except the imposition of external domination. To this day, there is no language universally current, and only English enables most Indians to converse with those from other areas. Many foresaw that, on the departure of the paramount power, fissiparous tendencies were likely to manifest themselves ; the cracks that appear in the structure now are so ominous as to foreshadow the downfall of the whole edifice.

Some of the Principalities or States have a long record of independence. As the British extended their hold on the country, they entered into treaties with independent kingdoms that they found in existence. These States were left internally autonomous, but surrendered their external relations to the new-comers. That gradually led to a paternal supervision of internal affairs as well, the whole developing into the theory of paramountcy. In theory the rulers were quite independent, but in practice their political status became entirely bound up with the British Empire.

Yet some of them existed long before coming into the Empire. The Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang, who visited India in the seventh century, met the ruler of the ancient State of Cooch Behar, a kingdom which claims to have flourished from the mythical days of the Mahabharata. When Vasco da Gama came to the country in 1499, he had dealings with the ancestors of the present Maharajah of Cochin State. The first treaty which the British company made was with the ancestor of the present ruler of Travancore.

Kashmir State is a simple problem. It has no such origins in antiquity but was artificially created by a very questionable transaction. The youthful British Government of India, in need of ready money, sold that fertile and beautiful region to His Highness Shri Maharaj Hari Singhi Bahadur, the forefather of the present ruler, for a ridiculously inadequate sum. The legality of the sale could be called in question; without the support of the paramount power, it is doubtful whether a Hindu ruler could have maintained his position over a population almost entirely Muslim. But Kashmir's position seemed plain in view of the conditions postulated for the native States when Great Britain left the country in August 1947. The States were very definitely advised that paramountcy had lapsed and was not inherited by the Indian Union; that they had before them the option of remaining aloof, or of joining either the Indian Union or Pakistan as geographical proximity might dictate. Now the tenuous title of the ruler, the preponderance of Muslim population and geographical proximity all pointed to Kashmir throwing in her lot with Pakistan. But Muslim elements—Pakistan, say the tribesmen—anticipated union by marching into Kashmir. Seeing his head in danger, the Maharajah promptly appealed against his subjects to his co-religionists of the Indian Union. The ministers Nehru and Patel seized the opportunity to aver that constituted authority was threatened and must be supported, and that the ruler, who was *ipso facto* the competent judge of the issue, had applied to accede to the Indian Union. Their divisions moved into Kashmir to confront the Muslims, and a very dangerous undeclared war is still being waged there between the two new dominions. In passing, the Indian Union ministers have adduced arguments the exact reverse of those in their dealings with the Nizam, for every argument which they put forward for intervening in Kashmir can be quoted to prove the illegality of their acts in Hyderabad.

Most people in Britain know little of the Dominion of the Nizam, except that the pied piper of Hamelin was said to have relieved that august ruler of a plague of "monstrous bats", presumably the familiar flying foxes which still flit round the domes and minarets of Hyderabad city and the old tombs of the kings at Golconda. Petrol, essential machinery and medicines have been denied for months back, in the effort of the Indian Union to reduce this State by blockade.

As a State, Hyderabad dates from the end of the seventeenth century.

As the troops of the East India Company pressed inwards from Madras, they found the Nizam ruling over most of the great Deccan plateau. They found other rival States, and they met another colonial power, the French, as very keen competitors in the race for economic and political power in the south of India. It will be interesting to trace briefly the set-up of those early days.

The founder of the dynasty of Asaf Jah, the family name of the Nizams, was Chin Quli Khan, a general in the army of Aurangzeb when that Mogul emperor subjugated the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda towards the close of the seventeenth century. The Emperor set up his general as Subhedar or governor of the Deccan, calling him "Nizam ul Mulk", and left him in charge there. He was also given the title of "Asaf Jah" which means "equal to Asaf", the wisest minister of king Solomon. But the Mogul Empire was already crumbling; and when Aurangzeb died, his weak successor could give no help to the distant Deccan province. So in 1729 the independence of Hyderabad State was declared, and has been maintained ever since.

After the death of the first Nizam, the usual succession disputes followed. Nazir Jung, his son, was the obvious heir, but a grandson, Muzaffer Jung, also made a bid for the throne. The French were then challenging the expansion of British power in South India; since the British were supporting Nazir Jung, the French gave their countenance to Muzaffer. Nazir succeeded to power but was soon slain by assassins, said to be in the pay of the French. Muzaffer then became ruler, with the backing of the astute Frenchman, Dupleix. After a brief reign, he was killed by a Pathan; French historians allege this to have been inspired by the British. A struggle followed between several claimants, but the British were finally able to instal their nominee, Ali Khan, in the seat of the Nizam, in 1761.

The disunity of India was making it possible for British power to reduce the opposition piecemeal. A powerful challenge came from the famous Tippoo Sultan, who raised formidable forces in a stand against British expansion. But a treaty of mutual aid had been framed between the Nizam and the British colonizers, and in the ensuing clash the Nizam threw in his forces and ensured the defeat of Tippoo. In 1803 came determined opposition from the warlike Mahrattas to British infiltration. Again the armies of Hyderabad fought along with the British and helped to crush the Mahratta menace. Some time afterwards came a rising against British colonization, in the name of Islam, led by Mubariz-ud-Dowla. The Nizam helped to overthrow this fanatic and imprisoned him in Golconda Fort. The critical test came in the Mutiny of 1857 when the initial successes of the rebels in the north promised to expel the hated Feringees. But the Nizam, though seeming to espouse a losing cause, remained loyal and played a great part in ending the insurrection.

With the war of 1914-1918, the present Nizam, His Exalted Highness Sir Mir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur, placed his forces at the disposal of the

Empire and they served in Palestine under General Allenby. Hyderabad gave lavishly in money for war purposes, and the reader will begin to appreciate the title of "the Faithful Ally" which was ceremonially conferred on the Nizam and proudly borne by him. This did not prevent a certain strong cleavage of opinion coming in between the paramount power and the ruler during Lord Reading's tenure of Viceregal Lodge. Certain old world abuses were beginning to show in the administration which appeared to the Government to require a "spring cleaning". Thus from 1925 an Executive Council was set up with extensive powers in place of the ancient autocratic rule. There were seven members, and it was agreed by the State that the Revenue Member, the Revenue Secretary and the Inspector General of Police should be Britishers borrowed from the Government of India. The line taken by those officials, commencing with Sir Richard Trench, Sir Theodore (then Mr.) Tasker and Mr. Armstrong played a strong part in Hyderabad affairs till the exodus in 1947, along with the Political Residents who were at hand continually to advise the Nizam. That advice and guidance was by no means unwillingly received, for when once constitutional advance started, the Hyderabad Government brought in from outside the State officers of British India like Sir Akbar Hydari, later to become Premier, and Mr. Rustoomji Faridoonji, the popular Customs Commissioner. In short, if there be any complaint against the nature of Government, the obvious answer is to point to the constitutional advance since 1925. The great Prime Minister of the early days of the young Executive Council was a Hindu, the veteran Maharajah Sir Kishen Pershad, Yaminus Sultanath.

In 1939, when the Indian National Congress was bargaining and denouncing the war effort, when Gandhi compared British promises to "a post-dated cheque on a failing bank", the Nizam did not hesitate. The special troops kept ready for Imperial Service were immediately mobilized and steps taken to double the army. The Nizam's troops served on the N.W. Frontier and in North Africa, and the luckless regiment which went to Singapore passed into a Japanese prison camp. But not one Hyderabad soldier joined the renegade Indian National Army, though one young officer, Ansari, a Hyderabadi serving in a Baluch regiment, was beheaded in front of his men for refusing to give the lead. The State gave a warship and the famous squadron of fighter planes which accounted for many cross-channel raiders. The training camps for British, American and Indian troops stretched almost from Secunderabad to Kamareddy.

During the war, the British Government were making strenuous efforts to get the main political parties of India to agree on a Constitution and a form of government to which power might be transferred. When Sir Stafford Cripps came out in 1942 to try to work out a solution, the leaders of Hyderabad thought commenced to wonder exactly where they would stand in the event of a settlement, and a delegation was sent to wait upon Sir Stafford and to request a statement of the position of "the

Faithful Ally". Nothing could have been more satisfactory than the assurances brought back to Hyderabad. Here are the words of the Minister of the King Emperor :

If you choose to resume your powers and to become even independent, say so, and you will have it. . . . The North Western group of provinces may want to have a union by themselves. You may join either the one or the other, or none. . . . We ourselves will not unilaterally revoke our undertakings. We shall continue to fulfil our obligations as we are doing to-day to Northern Ireland. . . . We will provide everything necessary to implement our treaty obligations . . . including the use of force in the last resort.

To one who knows how Muslims are taught by their faith to regard the plighted word as sacred, and how universities and schools have since Macaulay's days been lecturing young India on the privilege of membership of the British Empire, it is not strange that the people of Hyderabad had no misgivings as to their future. They anticipated a loose federal union in which they would play their part in the economy of a united India, while retaining the substance of their ancient independence and their solemn treaties with Britain. They made no attempt to arm or prepare for defence, for had not the minister of the King Emperor assured them that all would be well ?

There were other issues, commitments to which Britain was pledged calling for settlement. At one time, alleging that the Nizam's Government was in arrears on the payment stipulated for the garrison maintained under the treaties, the Government of India took over the rich sub-province of Berar as pledge for the debt. In the time of Lord Linlithgow as Viceroy, Hyderabad was able to offer payment in full for the recovery of her pledged territory. After much circumlocution, the Government of India fully admitted the Nizam's title to Berar, and conferred on the Crown prince the title of " Prince of Berar". But, for the time being, the territory would not be returned but would continue to be administered by the Government of the Central Provinces. A graver matter was that earlier Governments of India had similarly taken away the ceded districts to the east of the State, as a pledge for alliance and protection, and made them part of Madras Presidency. These contained Hyderabad's only sea-board ; now the State can only trade by passing through Indian Union territory to Bombay or Madras. These were vital questions which called for definite settlement before quitting India. Sir Walter Monckton had made full preparation of the Hyderabad case. That splendid Viceroy, Lord Wavell, was in the midst of the delicate negotiations which these and similar problems entailed, and gave his solemn warning against yielding to the shrill Congress demand for evacuation at once, instead of in 1948. But he was replaced by Lord Mountbatten who came with a mandate to abandon India : and part of the cost was the loss of hundreds of thousands of innocent lives in the Punjab and United Provinces, where Hindus and Sikhs turned against the minority Muslims in an orgy of slaughter reminiscent of the days of Genghis Khan. In Pakistan, too, the Muslims were

guilty of savage and unjust treatment of unoffending Hindus, showing that the age-old feud is still alive and that there was never any hope of Hindu and Muslim settling down together in a stable government. The only district in which some unity was ever attained between the two great communities is Hyderabad, where Hindu and Muslim have lived peacefully together for several generations. To leave India without settling such responsibilities as Berar and the ceded districts was dishonest ; to hand over large supplies of modern weapons of war and then march out without waiting to see the new " dominions " in working order was criminal.

After the departure of the British, the Nizam looked about for a Prime Minister and selected a tried and experienced statesman in Sir Mirza Ishmail. He was a proved administrator, moderate both in politics and in religion, and with every qualification for working out an agreement likely to satisfy the demands of the Union and of the State. Unfortunately Hyderabad was dividing into two parties, for and against accession. The orthodox Muslims were represented by an association, the *Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen*, and the leadership of this body passed to a man, Kazim Razvi, of a fanatical bent. This party conceived that Sir Mirza was going too far and too fast in his commitments to the Indian Union, and excitement in the State became so intense that Sir Mirza felt it necessary to place his resignation in the hands of His Exalted Highness. The former Premier, the Nawab Saheb of Chattari, was hurriedly recalled from his home in the United Provinces, but he also failed to please the growing Conservative party. Excited crowds of thousands of people surrounded his house, and those of his two colleagues, Nawabs Ali Nawaz Jung Bahadur and Ali Yawar Jung Bahadur, two of the most able and constructive statesmen in Hyderabad, all falling under suspicion of being willing to concede too much to the Indian Union. They resigned, and a new Government was formed under the Premiership of the prominent business man, Mr. Liak Ali, a Hyderabad born and bred, and with a keen and experienced public administrator in its finance member, Nawab Moin Nawaz Jung Bahadur, and a larger number of Hindu members than had ever held office previously in Hyderabad's Executive Council.

Meanwhile the Conservative party, realizing the inadequacy of Hyderabad's army for national defence after the British regiments had been so unexpectedly withdrawn, started to raise a large force of national volunteers called the *Razakars*. This force, said to number 300,000, was mainly of local Muslims but contained plenty of Hindus, depressed classes, and Lingayats, as well as refugees of all descriptions. As a force it was not well armed nor well disciplined, and has been the subject of intense criticism in Indian Union communiqués. In any case, this criticism rose out of the fears of the Muslims, who had seen before their eyes the indescribable acts of savagery perpetrated on the Muslims of the East Punjab and the United Provinces ; who had seen thousands of helpless refugees streaming in over Hyderabad's frontiers from the north, from the Central Provinces

and from Bombay Presidency, and who anticipated no better fate for their own wives and families if their hereditary enemies were allowed to control the State of Hyderabad.

The Indian Union inherited the greater share of the Indian army and its armaments, almost the whole of India's heavy industry and minerals, the leading newspapers such as the *Times of India* and the *Pioneer* which have a chance of being read outside India, and the great all-India broadcasting station at Delhi. Thus whatever account reaches Europe of Hyderabad affairs is likely to be as seen through Indian spectacles. There have been lapses in the discipline of the *Razakars*, probably less than the grave lapses and excesses on the part of former Indian army troops and police in north India. These were promptly seized upon and magnified manifold. Minor squabbles have been exaggerated into "frontier incidents" and a distorted picture has been presented of a mob of bandits allied with corrupt police to attack harmless villagers. There is reason to believe that many of the alleged incidents were engineered by interested parties. In addition, there has been a strong influx of communist agitators from the Madras side which has stirred up a revolt among the formerly peaceful peasants of the Andra districts, inspiring them to repudiate their obligations to the landlords, whether State or jagirdars. The whole picture has a familiar look about it of the common procedure in the expansion of Germany in the few years before 1939, to allege and even to create unrest within a neighbouring State and then march in to settle it. To quote the editor of *The Spectator* of August 13: "Her (the Indian Union) Government's White Paper on Hyderabad (where India 'cannot afford to be a helpless spectator of orgies of misrule') evokes depressingly Hitlerian echoes and incidentally compares most unfavourably with the urbane and reasonable terms of a similar document just issued by the Nizam . . . there would be no reason to feel pessimistic about the outcome of Sir Mirza Ishmail's latest conversations in Delhi were it not for the streak of irresponsibility so plainly discernible in India's approach to the whole problem."

In the beginning of negotiations, the Union stated that all she asked from Hyderabad was accession in respect of defence, communications and external relations. Successive delegations from Hyderabad under the Nawab of Chattari, Sir Mirza Ishmail and Mr. Laik Ali, all agreed in full to this. Taken aback by this accommodating spirit, the Indian Union redoubled her demands. There must be "representative government", whatever that may mean in a country where of 400 millions at least eighty-four per cent. are illiterate peasants. Now there has been surrender, or else Hyderabad was to have disappeared.

Hyderabad's millions of cultivators are not politically minded. They, like the peasantry of the rest of India, require several generations of education before they are ready for the ballot-box and the franchise. To talk glibly of "democratic government" and the franchise in connection

with Indian peasantry is to talk arrant nonsense—or worse. Those poor people can be shamelessly exploited by agitators or bribed by corrupt agents. For many years to come they must be served by some form of non-elective government; and the limited monarchy of the Nizam is preferable to the rule of any managerial or political caucus. In the experience of one who has spent twenty-five years in India, nineteen of them in Hyderabad, the conditions of the Hyderabad cultivators are at least as good as elsewhere in India. The Executive is gradually being brought under the Legislative Council, a very complete body in which every class and community of the State has full representation. The movement towards a constitutional and limited monarchy has been steady and certain. Irrigation schemes and agricultural experiment in Hyderabad set the lead to the rest of India. Education, while not up to the standards of Mysore and Travancore, is steadily advancing and the teachers are the best paid of all India. Communal unity between Hindu and Muslim had here been attained better than elsewhere. There are admittedly many defects in the State of Hyderabad when compared with a western democracy, but for our purposes it is not necessary to make such a comparison, but one with the other units of the Indian peninsula, and here Hyderabad can stand the comparison.

Not choosing to await the result of Hyderabad's appeal to the Security Council, the Indian Union has invaded Hyderabad and compelled surrender after five days' fighting, ending on September 17. The Nizam has realized the hopelessness of armed resistance and the futility of expecting anything from the United Nations. Thus Hyderabad has passed under the yoke and agreed to all the demands of the Indian Union. We may see a new Hyderabad with many reforms, but the State will hardly now get such terms as could have been had under the leadership of Sir Mirza Ishmail. The episode will be remembered mainly because of its importance as a constitutional precedent, since it has been possible to settle by an armed coup a dispute pending in the Security Council. It seems that might is still right and that the United Nations experiment has gone the way of the League. Of the various errors of judgment which have reduced Hyderabad, the greatest were that she trusted to the promises and assurances of British statesmen and relied on the United Nations.

BRAZILIAN ENTERPRISE

BY R. G. WALKER

ALTHOUGH the dictatorship of Dr. Getulio Vargas came to an end in October 1945, and General Eurico Dutra assumed office as President of the Republic in the following January, constitutional government was not fully restored in Brazil until twelve months later. The Constituent Assembly, elected in December 1945, was occupied until September 1946 in drafting a new Constitution to replace the Charter arbitrarily proclaimed by Dr. Getulio in 1937. On completion of this work the Assembly split up to form the Federal Senate and Chamber of Deputies, and in January 1947 elections were held to appoint the State Governors, the Deputies to the State Legislative Assemblies and the Councillors to the Municipal Chamber of the Federal District.

During this process of re-establishing democratic government throughout the country little, if any, change was made in the financial policy of the previous régime, and the beginning of 1947 found the country facing a serious economic crisis. The currency in circulation had been increased fourfold since 1939 by repeated new issues to cover lavish public expenditure, and to finance exports for which payment was suspended abroad during the war years. The Bank of Brazil had granted loans freely, often for speculative business. National production and exports were at a high level ; the building trade and real estate market were feverishly active. Money was plentiful, night clubs and holiday resorts were crowded, but local prices had risen over 300 per cent. and were still soaring. Owing to unbridled exports foodstuffs and other essential goods were short, or lacking altogether, on the home market. Food was rationed, and long files of would-be purchasers waited for hours outside provision shops. In spite of repeated increases in salaries wage-earners were suffering unprecedented hardships.

The measures taken by General Dutra's Government to avert disaster included the suppression of new issues of paper money ; the restriction of bank loans to the needs of productive business ; the limiting of exports of foodstuffs and other essential goods to satisfy the demands of the home market ; the control of imports to avoid the entry of non-utility articles, or goods similar to those manufactured locally, in order to reserve exchange for purchases of machinery and equipment, urgently needed by industry, agriculture and transport services, and the curtailment of public expenditure and the control of local prices.

These measures provoked strong opposition from certain powerful

financial groups. They protested against the restriction of bank loans, and urged depreciation of the cruzeiro from its official value of 18.72 to forty in relation to the U.S. dollar. They also demanded an increase in customs duties. These proposals would facilitate exports, they said, and protect national production by raising the cost of foreign goods. The resultant increase in the cost of living could be off-set by the easy expedient of raising wages.

A bitter controversy was sustained in the press, and persistent efforts were made to discredit the Minister of Finance, Sr. Correia e Castro. The drastic suppression of certain exports undoubtedly disorganized business, but control was relaxed, or removed, as soon as the requirements of home consumers had been met. The curtailment of bank loans also caused embarrassment; several factories were obliged to shut down, and 20,000 cotton operatives were thrown out of work in San Paulo; a few of the banking houses which had sprung up like mushrooms in recent years were forced to close, and a run, probably engineered, was made on one or two stable banks. But the Government maintained its policy undisturbed. Bank loans were granted to meet the needs of legitimate business, but not to bolster up ephemeral enterprises founded on capital borrowed at high rates of interest during the inflation period. Import licences were withheld in the case of non-utility goods, and public expenditure was rigidly controlled.

The volume of paper money decreased slowly, but steadily, until December. In that month a modest issue of 100 million cruzeiros, representing 0.5 per cent. of the amount in circulation, was authorized to meet the seasonable demands of industry and commerce. Industrial production and exports, after a temporary set-back, increased in June and rose above the 1946 level. The foreign trade balance began to improve. Money became less plentiful. Night clubs and holiday resorts emptied, but food rationing ceased, and the long files of tired shoppers disappeared from the streets. The rise in prices was checked in June, and optimists proclaimed that the crisis was over. But in December the upward pressure of inflationary forces was renewed. Prices began to soar again owing to the increased cost of imports, especially from the United States, and to local stock manipulations and difficult distribution, caused by inadequate transport facilities. By June 1948 the cost of living had gone up a further twenty-four per cent., strengthening an agitation for increased remuneration among the armed forces and public employees, which, if granted, will add twenty-five per cent. to the budget expenditure for salaries this year. Similar demands arose later in industry and commerce, and will be difficult to ignore unless the cost of living can be confined within bearable limits. To aid in doing this a law was passed in April establishing the emergency control of foreign trade. Exports and imports are now subject to prior licence to avoid shortages on the home market, and restrict non-essential imports, reserving exchange for goods

more urgently needed.

Another law was submitted to the Chamber of Deputies early in June last to empower the Government to acquire the surplus of essential foodstuffs directly from the producers at pre-established prices. By surplus is meant the excess over the previous year's consumption, plus seven per cent. This surplus will be used to form stocks for distribution in Brazil during periods of shortage, thereby obviating market fluctuations, the excess being exported at prices ruling on the international market. The difference between the purchase and the selling prices will be applied to measures for increasing the production of foodstuffs. Another Government project before Congress seeks to combat the greed for excessive gain, which was evolved during the war and now seems to dominate business. It fixes the limits for profits in industry and commerce, both wholesale and retail, and provides that any excess must be paid in full to the national treasury.

The Government's financial position showed unmistakable improvement at the end of 1947. The Revenue and Expenditure Accounts of the Federal Union closed with a small surplus, the first in forty years, instead of the big deficit foreseen in the Estimates. The Budget for 1948 was balanced on an unusually solid foundation, with revenue calculated on a modest basis, so as to leave a margin for unforeseen expenditure, and the first quarter, a difficult period of the year, ended with a favourable balance of £8,700,000. The country's finances at the moment may be said to be in a state of convalescence, but the situation is delicate, and any weakening of the Government's anti-inflation policy may lead to a sharp relapse. In this connection it is difficult to see how such idealistic projects as the S.A.L.T.E. plan, now before Congress, can be carried out at the present juncture without new currency issues. This plan aims at raising the standard of national health, increasing the production of foodstuffs, improving communications and developing electric energy. It is of undisputed value to the country, but it is generally felt that the moment is inopportune to add to the Government's other expensive programmes, some of which over-lap the proposals in the S.A.L.T.E. plan, a project involving an expenditure for the national treasury of £243,000,000, spread over five years. It was drawn up without the intervention of the Minister of Finance, and does not appear to meet with his approval.

General Dutra's first two years in office were difficult politically as well as financially. The restoration of constitutional government and freedom of speech, after fifteen years of virtual dictatorship, was fraught with bitterness and confusion. Many members of the legislative bodies were new to politics, and of the experienced politicians some had backed the previous régime, while many had suffered under it. Clashes were inevitable. The excessive number of parties represented in both houses caused confusion. This multitude of parties, all competing against each other at the elections, had enabled the organized, disciplined Communists

to secure a number of seats out of proportion to their numerical strength. Once elected, they made gross attacks on the President and his Ministers, opposed every government measure, penetrated the councils of the trade syndicates, and promoted strikes and public disturbances. After the Communist Party had been declared illegal in May 1947, its elected representatives continued to exercise their mandates, as no legal provision existed for cancelling them. Their behaviour became even more intolerable. They provoked scission in the Social Democrat majority party, and made alliances with other groups, who admitted the extremists as their candidates in the municipal elections held from September 1947 onwards. Finally, towards the end of the year, when parliamentary business was almost disrupted, the Social Democrats came to an understanding with the chief opposition party, the National Democratic Union, and the Republican Party. These three agreed to support all government measures of national importance, while maintaining the right to free criticism. This agreement was formally ratified on January 22, 1948, but in the meantime a Bill to cancel the Communists' mandates, which had been meeting with violent opposition, was approved by the Chamber of Deputies. It became law on January 7, and had the effect of excluding the representatives of the extinct Communist Party from the Federal Senate and Chamber of Deputies, from the state legislative assemblies and from the municipal councils throughout Brazil. Only a very few Communists, elected as representatives of other parties, have retained their seats.

The cancellation of their mandates was the signal for an outbreak of disturbances in many parts of the country. As a result a number of foreign agitators were deported, many ex-Deputies were arrested for openly inciting the people to violence, and the majority of the extremist newspapers were suppressed for the same reason. A series of explosions also occurred in military establishments, one of which caused serious loss of life and damage to installations. These outrages, the last of which occurred in April, have served to arouse public opinion against the Communists. Many former members of the Party have announced their withdrawal publicly, the trade syndicates have expelled the extremists from their councils, and in a recent railway dispute the strikers refused to admit Bolsheviks to their conferences.

The beginning of 1948 found the administration in a stronger position than it had ever been, relieved of systematic obstruction, and able to count on effective co-operation in Senate and Chamber of Deputies. Government measures still meet with heavy delays owing to defects of parliamentary procedure, under which hundreds of projects must await the pronouncement of over-worked committees before they are submitted to plenary discussion. This, and other obstacles to smooth working seem about to be remedied by an alteration in the regulations. Both federal chambers are now free of violent dissensions, but the same cannot yet be said of all state legislative assemblies. Disputes have arisen between the Executive

and the Legislative, or Judiciary, powers in several states, and opposing factions have appealed to the Federal Government to intervene. So far, General Dutra's patience and tact have enabled him to avoid this dangerous measure, and peace has been gradually restored to all federal units, except Alagoas, Rio Grande do Norte and San Paulo. In the last-named the Governor, Sr. Ademar de Barros, who owed his election in great part to the Communist vote, is accused of official and other misdemeanours, and an important section of the Legislative Assembly is demanding his impeachment. An appeal for federal intervention has been passed on by the President to the Senate, but it is hoped that the Paulistas themselves will be able to settle their differences without outside assistance, which might lead to grave disturbance in that important state.

General Dutra, in this his third year as President, is faced with many important tasks. Among these are several social measures which were inserted in the Constitution of 1946 to ensure continuity under successive administrations. Thus the Federal Union must apply each year not less than ten per cent. and the states and municipalities not less than twenty per cent. of their revenues from taxation to the maintenance and spread of education. To aid the population of the semi-arid north-east, which is subject to periodic droughts, often followed by famine and disease, the Union, and the states comprising that region, must devote three per cent. of their revenues to measures of social and economic assistance, and to the construction of irrigation works. During twenty consecutive years the Federal Union, the states, territories and municipalities of the Amazon must apply three per cent. of their receipts from taxation to the economic valorization of the zone. Within twenty years from the date of the Constitution the Federal Government must draw up, and carry out, a plan for the utilization of the economic possibilities of the San Francisco river, applying not less than one per cent. of its receipts from taxes to that purpose. Finally, the Union is obliged to organize permanent measures against drought, flood and endemic diseases in rural districts.

In compliance with these clauses nearly three thousand schools were opened last year, and many others have been authorized. An extensive scheme for the education of adults has also been put in force in all federal units. The proportion of illiterates is still very high in Brazil, particularly in the north and in remote districts of Goiás and Matto Grosso.

The construction of irrigation systems in the north-east is being hurried forward, and the plan for developing the resources of the Amazon has been completed and submitted to Congress. It provides for geological and agricultural research, the establishment of agricultural settlements, free distribution of fertile lands among the peasants, increased production of farms, ranches, fisheries, fibrous plants and rubber, and the encouragement of local industries.

A first step in the plan for utilizing the water power of the San Francisco river was taken last year by the organization, under government auspices,

of the Hydro-Electric Company of the San Francisco valley. The capital will be subscribed in equal parts by the treasury and the public. A power station will be built at the Paulo Affonso Falls, with capacity for 112,000KW, and a network of transmission lines will be erected to distribute current at low rates within a radius of 450 kilometres. An abundant supply of electricity will facilitate carrying out government schemes for drainage of low-lying districts, which are subject to periodic floods, destroying farms and homesteads, and for irrigation works in areas liable to drought. It should also encourage the foundation of local industries, to use raw materials of vegetable, mineral and animal origin which are available in the San Francisco valley. The region is rich in resources, but has hitherto been neglected; endemic diseases are rife, and opportunities for earning a livelihood are scant, so that the population has tended in recent years to become a nomad one. Practically the only means of transport is by river, impeded by falls and rapids, but road and rail communications are now to be provided.

To improve the sanitary conditions in rural districts a nation-wide health campaign was inaugurated last year. Doctors and nurses are patrolling the countryside, disinfecting areas subject to malaria and hook-worm, and teaching notions of health and hygiene. Hospitals or medical posts are being installed wherever the demographic density permits, and in future every new settlement will be provided with educational and medical facilities on opening.

As a further measure to assist the people of the interior, and in order to increase production, especially of foodstuffs, a four-year agrarian plan was put in force last year in accordance with the recommendations of the Third Inter-American Conference, held at Caracas in 1945. Brazil is still essentially an agricultural country, with over ten million people employed on the land, but production is low and tends to decrease. Except in certain highly organized branches, such as coffee, cotton and cocoa, the majority of Brazil's two million farms are smallholdings, worked by family groups in primitive fashion, often on the feudal system, dividing the produce with the landowner. The four-year plan aims at mechanizing agriculture and modernizing methods of cultivation. Large purchases of machinery and implements are being made abroad, and local manufacturers are encouraged to increase output by the promise of big orders. Equipment is being leased or sold on easy terms. Experimental stations are being opened in every state, and a rural bank, with widely distributed branches, is to be created in order to assist farmers and cattle breeders. Future crops are being financed, and minimum prices fixed for produce. Co-operative societies are being founded, and uncultivated land is to be expropriated for distribution among the tenant farmers. Old roads are being repaired, new ones are being built, and branch lines are being extended from the main railroads in order to facilitate transport between the farms and marketing centres. Hitherto, in many districts crops have

been lost in good years owing to lack of buyers, and for the same reason prices are generally unremunerative. The growing of wheat, in particular, is to be stimulated in Minas Geraes, San Paulo, Paraná and the southern states, where the yield per acre is high. The Federal and State Governments are combining to build mills and silos, the former to be leased under guarantee that they will be exploited on conditions favourable to producer and consumer. The total area under wheat last year was 750,000 acres, with a yield of 300,000 tons of grain, but there is no doubt production can be greatly increased during the next few years.

The four-year plan also provides for the increased development of Brazil's mineral wealth, particularly coal and iron. Coal seams extend from Paraná to near the Uruguayan border, but few mines are being worked, and the majority produce a poor quality coal, suitable only for burning. Efforts are being made to improve this by modern methods, to increase the output of the higher grade mines and open up others yielding a good coke. The national reserves of iron are practically inexhaustible, and the production of pig-iron, steel and sheet iron has increased over 400 per cent. in the past ten years. New mills are opening this year, and the output of pig-iron should reach 1,000,000 tons by 1951.

Petroleum, also, offers great possibilities in Brazil. The Lobato wells, in Bahia, yield 7,500 barrels daily, and work has been started on the first national refinery. Other deposits are known to exist in San Paulo, Alagoas, Paraná and Santa Catarina, and a government project is now before Congress to regulate the exploitation of the industry. It admits technical and financial assistance from abroad under the supervision, and with the participation, of the state.

The possibilities of agricultural and industrial development in Brazil are immense, but foreign capital and immigration on a large scale will be needed to ensure rapid progress. American interests seem eager to supply capital, subject to certain guarantees, but an adequate supply of labour may be less easy to arrange in the near future.

(Until 1940 the author was Divisional Manager for South America of Cable and Wireless Ltd. and was obliged to follow closely economic and political developments there. He writes from Brazil where he has lived for forty-three years.)

EDVARD BENEŠ

BY STORM JAMESON

IN the things statesmen say at press conferences, or to each other, or in their memoirs, there will always be some touch of arrangement. But, talking to an obscure friend, such a man as Edvard Beneš, in whom simplicity neighboured quickness of mind, subtlety, the peasant's and the diplomat's instinct for bargaining, such a man would not trouble to arrange; he would speak simply and directly, because the person spoken to was simple, had no power of any kind, could not harm and could not be useful.

I was in Prague in November 1945, and on the 15th I had tea with the President and Mme. Beneš, alone. I was there for two hours, and—how else could it have been, since Mme. Beneš knows more about silence and what it holds than anyone else, and I had nothing to say?—the President talked all the time. I was not meant to repeat his talk, nor make any use of it at all. But when I left Hradčany, and was walking back to my hotel, grief seized me, foolish and unexpected. It was not grief, it was fear, the darkness, the raw cold, the night of Prague, the extraordinary beauty of the streets I was lost in. Nothing could be more absurd—and I had just left a man who was tranquil and sure of himself, a man loyal and adroit, reasonable and obstinate, quick-witted and endlessly patient, and a woman in whom devotion and courage are an instinct. At the same moment I thought that I must make a note of the conversation, or I should lose it, and with it this corner of an old house, these cobblestones, this window with its iron grille, this bridge and the Vltava running coldly below it. I had to go to hear *Libuše*, but after that I sat up until three o'clock, writing what I remembered. I am burdened with a good memory: it has kept clearly the sound of Beneš's voice talking, to himself rather than to an unimportant visitor—that is, *sans ambages*. None of it has any worth as news. Its worth is in the proof that a man regarded, even by his friends, as too clever, was, much more deeply, simple and still curiously trustful. His policy, his few certainties, his plans, spread out while he sipped at his tea, recalled an English friend and asked after him, had this simplicity as base. In familiar talk there is no faking this quality: either you deeply have it or the fraud is an obvious one. Beneš had it. And the trust.

"I found things here better than I expected," he said at once. "The difficulties will be enormous, we have had six months of intense strain, but

now I know what I have to do. I can do it. I see my way clearly and the way for the country. You know, it was agreed in London that in a month, in one month, the legislative powers vested in the President should be returned to a parliament. And after nearly two months I had to insist, I had to say to them : after a certain day I will not sign decrees. I kept my word, there were a few delays and a few unsigned decrees, then the provisional government met. I have to go very carefully, a step at a time. I must, I will, keep a balance between extremes. During the occupation people here looked to Russia as their saviour who was coming—that's one inescapable fact, and another is the historical necessity we are in to move from liberalism to socialism. But not to imitation of Russia. We are a democracy already ; we shall remain one."

I asked him about Russia. "Ah. I discussed everything very frankly with Stalin, frankly and freely. I told him just what Czechs would and would not accept ; I told him they wouldn't adopt Russian methods, and Stalin accepted that, completely."

He smiled. "You know, I had far more trouble with our Czech communists than with Stalin, but I have persuaded them, too, that we want a *democratic* revolution. In speech after speech I've led them always a little farther away from the idea of an unparliamentary régime"—again the quick smile—"you know, I turn their own talk about democracy against them. Now I can say that a revolution has been carried out without a shot. Our people were astonished at first that I said so much about the need to go ahead in a Czech way ; they were ready for anything, anything, if only they could get rid of the Germans, but each week they became a little stiffer, and more stable and balanced."

"You are clever," I said. He thought about this. After a moment he said : "No, it's not only cleverness, it is knowing exactly what must be done. In diplomacy, nothing else matters. You must be exact. And I don't, let me tell you, always go a step at a time. If you offer the very most you can afford, certain people begin to wonder if it is what they want ; they suspect a trick. Slovaks . . . the Slovaks came to me in Moscow and I said : my dear brothers, I will give you everything you want. They were very startled. It's not tactics, I said, you can have everything you want, but you must pay for it yourselves." I laughed. He looked at me tranquilly and seriously. "So their demands gradually dropped—until by the time I came back to the country, the position was what it should always have been, before the war, and wasn't. They have their autonomy, and Slovakia is not one of my great problems."

"And Russia ?" I asked again. He was silent, then began to talk about Poland and General Sikorski, and the discussions with Sikorski. These began a few weeks before Hitler attacked Russia, when the attack was expected. I could see that he was calmly pleased that he had been so much more alert, far-seeing, sensible, than the Poles : they had not known—did they ever ?—what was possible, they had not *le tact des*

choses possibles, which (it was Cavour said it) is the only thing a statesman must have : they could not endure the thought, and had refused to agree that both countries, Poland and Czechoslovakia, must ally themselves fully and very firmly with Russia.

"I knew what he thought. That it would be like the last war, Germany would defeat the Russians and then be defeated by England and America. I told him I knew he was thinking this, but it would be a miracle, I said, and miracles do not happen twice. I couldn't convince him of it, nor any of the Poles. They refused to think of making terms, and you see what has happened, they have no freedom or independence, the country is torn ; on one side you have a rigid imitation of Russian methods, and on the other the Poles who only want to fight Russia and their own Left. What stability can there be in a country so divided and unbalanced ? . . . I knew, I always knew I should have to come to terms with Russia—and soon. I told Churchill so in 1941 and 1942, I told Eden. And in the end I went to Moscow and had my friendly discussions, I didn't allow Stalin to be in any doubt about anything, I told him exactly what we Czechs are like, that we make good friends, you can trust us. But I was very plain with him, too, that in our own affairs undemocratic methods wouldn't suit us." He looked at me with his head for a moment on one side. "You see the result. We keep our independent way of life and our freedom to argue with each other. And—whatever form German nationalism takes—there will be no second Munich. Which could not be risked. Could not."

Since he was waiting for me to speak, I said : "I've found since I came here a week ago that I can't put my hand down anywhere in Czechoslovakia, even on a friend's, without feeling Munich very close to the skin."

"Yes, that's true. It is there. You see why we must rely on Russia." He made a swift turn. "I liked Sikorski. I was able to talk to him . . . You know, the fact that we are a small country, no prestige to consider, made it easier for us to come to an agreement with Russia. Also we are Slavs. But—it is deep—we are western ; we are going to remain so. Our writers, painters, scientists, all our intellectuals, look west, they always will. People are learning English with an eagerness they never felt before. We shall hold this country wide open." With a smile of amusement and delight, the smile of a young man : "The fact that the Russian troops have gone is a great help—moral and financial. I had to help them a little to go. They said they would go when the Americans did, and the Americans said they would go when the Russians went. In the end I cabled to Truman, and it was arranged."

I had watched the Russians that very day, marching out of Prague between lines of smiling hand-waving Czechs radiant with friendliness and the host's joy when he sees the back of his guest. I said so. Beneš almost laughed.

And then, without expecting it, I felt the roughness, the scar, of Munich.

I had asked him: "Do you think Europe can be saved?" "Yes. Certainly. There will be years of troubles. Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Austria, Italy, will swing violently from side to side, but we shall go straight forward—" he held his hand out in front of him: he had a small hand—"like this, on our steady middle course; we shall be a rock in all the confusion. France . . . at the time of Munich, I begged their statesmen not to do what would kill France. You are betraying France, not us, I told them. And that is exactly what Munich did, and it is what is wrong with France now. It will take them fifteen years to recover. Yet Europe cannot live without France." "Or England," his wife said gently. It was almost the first thing she had said.

"Yes, or England," he said quickly. "You are on the highest level of civilization of all peoples. Of all—I don't except the French . . . Yet I can't. I shall never understand the folly, yes, folly of your ruling class which could not see what it was doing in letting Hitler grow to his strength. In not seeing that war was inevitable." "They were blinded by their fear of social revolution." "Yes, yes, but they should have known that there would be war, that wars are followed by social revolutions, and they should have made their plans in advance to see that it was a peaceful and orderly revolution." He did not say: as I have done—but it was in the eyelids lowered on the lively guarded eyes.

"Logic is Czech, not English," I said. "Yes, you are illogical people," he said swiftly. "You know perfectly well that the Sudeten Germans plotted the destruction of Czechoslovakia—even without Frank's utterly cynical revelations you know it. Yet you are startled, you protest, when we insist on getting rid of these treacherous neighbours." He went on in a dry voice: "They must go. For six months after Munich, in London, I still tried to see in the future a Czech-German state. Then it was impossible. It is utterly impossible for our people to settle down with them again after the occupation—even the Germans recognize it! It was agreed at Potsdam that they must go, and the pre-Munich frontiers, the only, yes the only viable frontier be restored. I know, of course I know what an ugly business it is, hard, bitter. And I know there is deceit and injustice. For us, too, the loss of three million people—including nearly a million workers—is serious. But it must be faced. Why? For the sake of the future."

In her low voice, Mme. Beneš said: "We need all our friends. Tell me, please, about Mr. H. G. Wells. We heard he is very ill." "He is dying," I said. "He has written a despairing book, and he is dying." She murmured a sorrowful phrase. Beneš asked, "How?" "I don't know. I am sure—without any vanity—as he lived." Beneš nodded. "So he has let his own dying make him despair of the future. A pity . . ."

When I left, they stood side by side to shake hands with me, he short, sturdy, poker stiff in the back, collected in himself like a peasant; she all

goodness and blond smiling serenity. I thanked her for inviting me to come. "You are the friend of Czechoslovakia and our friend." "And you didn't want anything," Beneš smiled. "Not everyone does," I said. "Of course not," he replied.

November 1945 . . . A photograph taken in March 1948 shows him aged by at least twenty years, the strong peasant body stooped, the face creased and haggard. All that the agony of Munich could not do had been done in a few weeks by the hands of fellow-countrymen.

In 1938, our Munichers blamed him for not making it easier for them to desert him; and there were other Englishmen who blamed him for not deciding to fight Germany with, for sole ally, the Russians—I recall, from as late as June 1948, the peculiarly fatuous comment of a Left politician: "Why did Dr. Beneš lose his nerve (at the time of Munich) and refuse to fight?" Ten years after Munich, Czech refugees in London—criticizing him bitterly for not giving the order to resist the Gottwald (Communist) coup in February—could, if they listened, hear their condemnation echoed by these same Munichers, blaming him now for weakness before Russia. Wrong, they had thought, to resist Hitler. Right, now to resist Stalin, the equally powerful neighbour and ally. Few statesmen, struggling to rule by the light of reason and logic, can have succeeded better in proving on their own naked spirit that reason and logic have small place in human affairs. Even friends have said of him that he was too clever by half, too ready to believe that a good formula will cover any contradiction. And that was both stupid and true, but it was not the truth. The truth about this subtle clever reasonable man is simpler. At the bottom of everything, he had a peasant's belief in bargains, in hard bargaining, and in the wisdom and rightness of keeping your bargain—since what sort of a world is it in which, after the cunning watchful argument, after you have made your highest bid and got the fellow down to his lowest price, after striking hands, you go back on your word? He was never able, until it happened again, to believe that men with whom he had been able to talk, frankly and freely, and in good faith to make terms, would for a reason of their own go back on the bargain. Under the cleverness, he had this trust and its simplicity.

He believed—unshakeably certain that his country must be the loyal ally of Russia—that he had saved it from all danger of another Munich; and—oh, clever wise sensible clear-sighted Czech—that he had saved it, by making terms willingly and in good time, from any attempt on its freedom and independence at home. When he knew he had failed—and a failure splashed with Jan Masaryk's blood—it broke even his heart.

AFTER LAMBETH : DISCIPLINE AND DIVORCE

BY JOHN ARMITAGE

“ALL at times are tempted to lose heart and to wonder whether, under such conditions, Christian living is possible, or whether, if possible, it is worth while. We are certain that it is possible, and worth everything, and we write this letter to tell you why.” Thus the archbishops and bishops “of the Holy Catholic Church, three hundred and twenty-nine in number, assembled from all parts of the earth at Lambeth, in the year of our Lord 1948,” in their encyclical letter, signed on their behalf by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to be read in all churches of the Anglican communion on Sunday, October 10. Elsewhere in this frank and noble document it is said : “The social order is all the time being made by the thoughts men think, the loyalties they honour, and the deeds they do or leave undone . . . For freedom and justice in the world depend on there being enough men and women who say, ‘We must obey God rather than men.’” It would do everyone good to hear this letter ! Is it too much to hope that Sunday, October 10, will find the churches full of men and women who, in the words of Archbishop Temple quoted last month, will be prepared “to listen like anything” ?

The encyclical letter, together with the resolutions and reports have been published by S.P.C.K.* All the findings cannot be discussed here but as Hugh Ross Williamson forecast in his article “Thoughts Before Lambeth”† a position of stalemate was reached on the question of inter-communion between the Church of South India and the Anglican Churches. What has happened in South India is that a union has taken place between episcopal and non-episcopal churches, a matter for rejoicing among most rank and file churchmen but one which in the opinion of some removes the keystone of the Anglican building. Since Mr. Ross Williamson explained the position so clearly in his article and the Lambeth Report makes known why the majority and minority could not agree there is no purpose in discussing the matter further. For my own part I should have sided with the majority because I believe that greater good would be the outcome of full communion between the Churches. At the same time the arguments of the minority are easy to appreciate and it is plain from them why they find acquiescence in full communion impossible.

It is difficult to be satisfied with all the pronouncements made in the

* *Lambeth Conference 1948.* S.P.C.K. 5s.

† *The Fortnightly*, July 1948.

resolutions. It is heartening to see "accurate information" included among man's rights but "it is the duty of governments to work for the general reduction and control of armaments" is a fainthearted conception of the Church's duty when voicing its opinion on war. Moreover the affirmation that work ought to be a vocation—"therefore all possible guidance should be given to young people in their choice of a life work, in order to foster their sense of vocation and to ensure that they are enabled to take up work which they can rightly regard as a form of service to God and their fellow men" is surely out of touch with modern conditions. Of course we want to fit pegs as nearly as possible into the same shaped holes but the maintenance of full employment, if possible, depends on the choice for many being drastically limited and a willingness among them to be re-trained for other work as the demands change. Hence, except for the few, there is no question of "life work" when leaving school, for the manpower problem of peace is in essentials the same as it is in war and no ex-Serviceman will need reminding that re-mustering was part and parcel of his military existence.* One other passing comment on the resolutions: the bishops do not do well to fall back on a Report of 1935 as a reason for reaching the conclusion that "the time has not come for (the) further formal consideration" of ordination of women to the priesthood. Thirteen momentous years have passed since 1935 and justice, if not prudence, demands, after the work of women in the Services, that this matter should be properly reconsidered.

But chiefly I want in this article to discuss the Conference's declaration "that the marriage of one whose former partner is still living may not be celebrated according to the rites of the Church, unless it has been established that there exists no marriage bond recognized by the Church." One senses, perhaps wrongly, that there is now little difference of opinion among the ecclesiastical hierarchy on this ruling, which restates the position taken up by the Lambeth Conference of 1930. But if this is so it does not reflect the general opinion of the laity, although there are strong sections of it—the Mothers' Union for example—which firmly uphold it. Nor can it be said, with the Lambeth committee Report, that the regulation "has already proved most salutary, and has brought home to the general public, as nothing else could, the life-long character of the holy estate of matrimony." As will be known this canon of the Church is not based on unassailable evidence. There is an admirable chapter, "Christianity and Marriage," on the whole question in *Essays in Christian Politics and Kindred Subjects* and although William Temple in this book does not exclude other interpretations of what should be the Church's attitude to remarriage he does show plainly that the Christian principle is that "sexual union rightly implies life-long union of persons" and gives his own

* Speaking as an ex-airman the shock of being told that there were sixty (or some such number) trades in the Royal Air Force but only three were open was a revealing one to others besides myself.

opinion that the Church "is mainly concerned to uphold the ideal by appeal to conscience" and that "to this end it should refuse to pronounce its blessings on any union where a partner to a former union with one of the parties is alive."

Is this so eminently sensible and logical conclusion the last word? It is not easy to answer since one is bound to welcome a strengthening of discipline on this matter and indeed one of the most pleasing features of the Lambeth Report is its insistence on greater discipline—on baptism for instance where the resolution is that at least one godparent should be a practising communicant of the Anglican communion—and its determination that the laity shall not be allowed to enjoy the blessings of the Church without appreciating what their obligations are. Nor can one easily forget the present laxity of public opinion on the marriage tie and the ease with which many sacrifice the proper upbringing of children to what they often ill-conceive to be the interests of their own personal happiness. The bishops, of course, had the facts of the present situation in front of them and what these facts are was given by Dr. E. F. Griffith only a few days after the conclusion of the Conference when at a meeting of the International Conference on Mental Hygiene he is reported to have said that in some countries as many as one quarter of all marriages were a failure while in "Britain the break-down-rate was one in five."*

But there is great difficulty in making so hard and fast a rule as : "The Conference affirms that the marriage of one whose former partner is still living may not be celebrated according to the rites of the Church, unless it has been established that there exists no marriage bond recognized by the Church." A discipline surely is only good in so far as it can reasonably be accepted by the faithful when the circumstances arise in which it is designed to operate. There are two ends to the stick of discipline, the giving end and the receiving end and I do submit that in the ruling just made not enough attention has been paid by the bishops to the receiving end. For in the circumstances that I shall now outline the discipline will not be accepted.

Let me give one general and two individual examples of occasions when, as I would not hesitate to advise marriage, I must believe—and in spite of a general rule to the contrary—that the Church should bless the union. It may be that in these examples I have my wartime experiences too much in mind. But the Church in my view must play its part wherever possible in healing the wounds of war and at times there can be no other way than in blessing a new union for one whose earlier marriage was broken. Here is the example of 'A,' an airman whose wife found the loneliness of being parted too much for her. 'A' by letter, tried to help, but she went off with another man, neglecting her child. After a hopeless battle to save his home 'A' accepted advice and instituted divorce proceedings. The wife repented; she asked to be forgiven and under-

* *The Manchester Guardian*. August 19, 1948.

standing he forgave. Again the wife defaulted without as far as I know ever suggesting that 'A' was responsible in any way. Unexpectedly 'A' returned home on leave to find the other man in his house. So divorce it had to be, a bitter blow to 'A' who needed and loved his wife. I do not know what happened to 'A' but I do know that all who knew his story admired him. I believe that he acted as a Christian should. If he did and if he has now found a wife who cherishes him and his child I cannot believe that it is not a matter of rejoicing for the Church and I cannot see why in these circumstances the compassion of Christ's Church should not overrule the law.

Secondly. It so happened that during my time in the Royal Air Force I was posted to a Station where those who had broken down under the strain of flying were sent. A not uncommon feature of their private lives and a strong contributory cause of their breakdown was unsettling home conditions including the unfaithful wife. Some of these men, a prey to self-pity, were balanced precariously for the plunge down hill. They needed more than anything the faith and love, which can only be given by a wife. If they have remarried and found thereby new confidence, and a fresh chance to lead a useful life God's purpose is surely served and the whole world gains. If then they sought the blessing of the Church to their remarriages, it seems wrong that they should have been denied.

Lastly, let me take a more obvious and more common case. A man divorced under the circumstances of war. Perhaps he is blameless; perhaps he contributed to his own downfall. The strain over, he falls in love. His girl, accustomed to a Christian way of life, is also deeply in love. She looks forward to the day of her marriage in the spirit that a Christian girl may be expected to do. But she knows now that the Church will refuse its blessing and that her marriage will never be the triumphal sacramental day she expected but to her something soiled and underhand. But, like the others, she will not be deterred from marrying for this reason, for love is greater than the discipline of the Church.

I think that is the crucial point. Love is greater: and some might say, surely with truth, that that is what Christ's life on earth so everlastingly proved. I do not deny the difficulty for the Church in adopting an alternative to its present ruling by undertaking to review each case on its merits, but I do say that it ought to be done.

The Archbishop of Canterbury in his broadcast on the Lambeth Conference, spoke of "obedience to the impulse of the Holy Spirit." It is humbly and with these words in mind that I record my belief that however strictly "our Lord's standard" on marriage may be interpreted it cannot be held that there is no exception to the rule. "Wherefore I say unto thee, her sins, which are many, are forgiven; for she loved much: but to whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little."

IMPROVISATION IN OCCUPIED AFRICA

BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR CHARLES GWYNN

WHEN a victorious army occupies enemy territory its C.-in-C., under rules of international law, has responsibilities for the treatment of the inhabitants and their property ; apart from that, in the interests of his own forces, law and order must be ensured and as far as practicable the social and economic life of the country should be maintained. To effect this a military government must be established under the command of the C.-in-C., but with powers delegated by him in order that he may be free to give his full attention to operations. In general the aims of military government are to ensure :

1. The security of the occupying forces.
2. The preservation of peace and good order.
3. The exploitation of the economic resources of occupied territory.
4. The release of fighting troops for active operations.
5. Good government in accordance with the rules of international law.

Normally the military government will as far as possible make use of the existing machinery of Government, directing and supervising its operations. There may, however, be cases, particularly when the enemy's colonial territory is occupied, when it will be found that the enemy's control has completely broken down or disappeared, and that the natives of the country are hostile to him. In such cases obviously the military government must assume direct control of administration and will require a team of substantial size with a wide range of technical qualifications. The question arises how far in peacetime we can prepare to meet these contingencies. Lord Rennell of Rodd in his recently published book* evidently considers that little had been done. He notes that although the *Manual of Military Law* reproduces the Hague Rules of 1907 and deals generally with the application of international law to war on land it does not purport to lay down formal practice for the administration of occupied territory. Moreover he points out that British military and other official literature omits to record experience in this matter and that the subject was not dealt with either at the staff colleges or similar establishments.

It would, I think, obviously be impracticable in peacetime to maintain and train the cadre of a team that would have to be recruited for the task from many different sources. And it would probably be a mistake to lay

* *British Military Administration of Occupied Territories in Africa*. 1941-47. H.M. Stationery Office. 17s. 6d.

down too precise rules for the conduct of a team recruited *ad hoc*, in view of the diversity of situations that may arise. They might only tend to cramp initiative and personal responsibility. The subject however certainly deserves study, not only by the fighting Services but by many Government departments, and the silence of official literature is regrettable. Lord Rennell has set himself to repair the omission and the experiences he records, covering as they do a diversity of situations, afford much valuable guidance. His book perhaps ranks as a semi-official publication and it not only is extremely interesting but, in spite of its formidable size, is admirably arranged to provide a work of easy reference on many matters in which a military government might require knowledge of past experience.

In the late war General Wavell was the first to realize that he would need an organization under his command to administer occupied territory ; and before the battle of Sidi Barani was fought he asked the War Office to study the question and to appoint an experienced administrator to his staff in order to formulate plans. He proposed to follow the general lines adopted by Allenby in Palestine, with which he was familiar, and which provided the best precedent from the 1914-1918 war. He also recommended, since the C.-in-C. would be responsible for maintaining military government for the duration of the war, that the organization set up, and he himself, should deal only with the War Office in administrative questions that might arise requiring reference to London. These recommendations were accepted. Sir Philip Mitchell, who up to the outbreak of war had been Governor of Uganda and had had experience of military government in Tanganyika, was appointed chief political officer on Wavell's Staff. (The title derived from India, though as his duties were mainly administrative it was later changed to Chief Civil Affairs Officer.) A Cabinet decision also made the War Office the sole Government department responsible for the administration of occupied territory thus avoiding inter-departmental delays and the danger of conflicting policies.

By the middle of February 1941 Sir P. Mitchell had collected a nucleus H.Q. staff at G.H.Q. Middle East with qualified personnel to head the various branches of the administration, and had appointed his deputies to act under the commanders in the different theatres—all with military rank although the majority of the senior officials were drawn from civil appointments. Military operations by then had made progress which already indicated that the situation would develop more rapidly than expected and before the military administration would be ready to take over its task.

The diversity of the situations and number of territories with which Sir P. Mitchell was preparing to deal should be noted. These were Libya (including the provinces of Cyrenaica and possibly Tripolitania), Italian Colonies with established governments and a substantial number of Italian colonists to whom the native population would naturally be

hostile. There were the two Colonies of Eritrea and Somalia ; the former with a fairly well developed government, a large number of Italian officials and much Government property. The territory was, however, unevenly administered and the native inhabitants, though reasonably contented, were of different races and modes of life. The latter, an immense area, was largely undeveloped and sketchily administered. The native population, homogeneous in race, but split into many often mutually antagonistic tribes was unlikely to show much sympathy with either side in a contest between Europeans. In addition there was the recovery and re-establishment of government of British Somaliland to be undertaken, and the existence of French Somaliland, with its potentially hostile Vichy Government, to be considered. Finally there was Ethiopia, the conquest of which had been accepted by the British Government and which therefore had for it the status of enemy territory. On the other hand the Emperor Haile Selassie had never relinquished his rights and looked forward to re-establishing his own Government, his primary motive for participating in the struggle. It was clear therefore that the military governments in each of these territories would differ widely in character and be confronted by entirely different conditions.

By the time Sir P. Mitchell's H.Q. had assembled in Cairo the first occupation of Cyrenaica was practically completed. Brigadier Longrigg, with verbal instructions only, had been appointed to establish military government with such staff as he could collect, utilizing what remained of the Italian administration. Public services were still functioning, and the chief responsibility was maintenance of law and order and the protection of Italian colonists still in their settlements. Fortunately the native population showed surprisingly little vindictiveness.

Hardly, however, had Brigadier Longrigg's organization begun to function when Rommel's counter-offensive compelled its withdrawal and it was dispersed. When the region was again captured it was in a chaotic state as a result of Auchinleck's offensive, and the Italian administration, and practically all the colonists, had disappeared. Before a military government could be properly organized it was again forced to withdraw to Egypt accompanied by numbers of native refugees. Not till the third occupation after Alamein was it possible therefore for a military administration to take charge, establish order and develop the economic life of the country. Tripoli was captured without greatly disturbing the local administration or the inhabitants ; and, as an adequate team for the first time was available to follow the troops closely, no abnormal difficulties were encountered in establishing military government.

To turn to East Africa where the situation was more complex and where military operations had progressed with unexpected speed and followed an unexpected course. There shortage of personnel to establish administration was acute and combat units, greatly outnumbered by the enemy, could not safely be depleted. Sir P. Mitchell had, however,

on February 8, 1941, issued a far-sighted memorandum for the guidance of all concerned. In it he authorized G.O's C. to appoint additional political and technical officers as required, but with a warning that only carefully selected and experienced officers should be used; that their numbers should be kept small and they should be given wide responsibility (a policy which apparently might with advantage have been adopted in Germany). Furthermore, when it became apparent that East Africa would require more attention than Cyrenaica, the C.P.O. H.Q. were moved to Nairobi to be in close touch with developments.

In Somalia all the Italian administrators had retreated with their troops and it was chiefly a question of maintaining order among the Somali tribes and dealing with some bandit groups formed by deserters from Italian native troops. Seaborne trade on which the Somalis greatly depended had also to be restarted. In British Somaliland, when it was recaptured, military government was also established, greatly facilitated by the voluntary return to their units of the men of former local forces. In Eritrea a substantial number of Italian administrative officers could be used and there was a considerable number of Italian civilians prepared to be reasonably helpful. In the lower country adjoining the Sudan, where the natives were Moslem and with racial affinities to those across the frontier, Sudanese Government officials took over administration. On the highlands the Christian population, racially Abyssinian, had long been contented to accept Italian rule. There was however much Italian property, and this gave rise to numerous political, economic and legal problems. The maintenance of law and order was the least important task. A further complication arose when the doubtful security of Egypt led to Massawa being used as a workshop and depot for American material aid.

It was, however, in Ethiopia that the most complex situation confronted the occupation government. Since it ranked as enemy territory the British Government could not escape its responsibilities under international law. In addition to great numbers of prisoners of war there were many Italian civilians and much private as well as public property requiring protection. There was no question of re-establishing Italian rule and therefore Italian administrative machinery could not be used, though a number of Italian technicians could be usefully employed. The withdrawal of recognition of the Italian conquest, though it was an indication of intention, did not solve the immediate problem which arose when in May 1941 the Emperor returned to his capital and appointed Ministers of State.

It was manifest that the Emperor was as yet in no position to re-establish an effective Government, either to maintain law and order among his own subjects or to deal with the Italians who could not for a considerable time be evacuated. The interests of the British forces still operating or maintained in the country had also to be secured. In spite of the

Emperor's desire that his authority should be immediately re-established it was clear that the military government must remain for a substantial time, and that it should be elaborated to deal with chaotic conditions which prevailed. Not till January 31, 1942, was a definite agreement reached by which the Emperor accepted advisers and financial assistance with a view to restoring the economic life of the country and of constructing a machinery of government. Meanwhile the British Military Government remained in charge. Fortunately the native population on the whole showed little resentment towards defenceless Italians, and there was no difficulty about food supplies. Native traders of various nationalities also quickly adapted themselves to circumstances in spite of the closing of the Italian banks and of the amazing variety of currencies in circulation without fixed rate of exchange. The establishment of branches of Barclays Bank eased the situation, but the Emperor's desire to restore the traditional use of the Maria Theresia dollar and the withdrawal of the lira for all large scale transactions added to the confusion. The M.T. dollar from its weight (£3,000 worth weighs one ton) and from the fact that it had no sub-division, was clearly too clumsy for general use, and the practice of using salt bars, shaped like a whetstone, for fractional values was only possible in country markets. (The Menelik dollar which was subdivided was never generally accepted and had apparently disappeared.) It was agreed therefore that the lira should be used for small change and uniform rates of exchange for Kenya currency, rupees and other money were fixed. This, however, was only one of the many problems which Lord Rennell describes and which had to be dealt with.

On the whole it is evident that the Military government accomplished a remarkable feat. It was by degrees withdrawn, though until the situation in French Somaliland was cleared up it was maintained in a zone adjoining that territory and it still exists in the former Italian colonies.

In conclusion we have seen that the military governments established in Africa were essentially improvisations, and that their success depended largely on the quality of the personnel and the degree of liberty given for initiative. I suggest that any attempt to draw up strict regulations to deal with such diverse conditions would have resulted in over-elaborate planning and the creation of a ponderous machine. Improvisation under skilful and firm guidance can be remarkably effective but that implies the choice of an outstanding leader. In Sir P. Mitchell evidently one was found.

BALTIC CULTURE

BY ANTS ORAS

TRAVELLERS returning from Sweden or Finland—even in the latter's weakened post-war state—have usually been full of praise for many manifestations of the cultural life of these countries. Such architectural achievements as the Stockholm Town Hall or the Finnish Parliament ; fine sculptural monuments in Helsinki as well as in the Swedish capital ; the extraordinarily numerous, richly stocked bookshops—especially in pre-war Finland ; the number, size and tasteful, often luxurious, appearance of the magazines on the bookstalls ; the theatres, operas and museums ; attractive collections of paintings even in cheap restaurants and industrial establishments ; the evidence of close contact with the culture of other countries provided, for example, by the generously endowed public libraries—these as well as many other proofs of a flourishing intellectual life and of an unusual demand for its products not only in the capitals but also in provincial centres have often made travellers thoughtful. Yet at home their facilities for studying the life underlying this striking surface are too often negligible. Few British universities include the culture of these nations in their curricula, and British libraries—even some of the greatest and richest—are poor in books from these regions : it would, for instance, be difficult to form an adequate conception of their literature by consulting the libraries of Oxford. But names such as those of Sibelius and Strindberg force themselves on the intellectuals' attention and occasionally must make them ask what the soil was like which enabled them to flourish.

Sibelius, Strindberg, Kierkegaard and Ibsen hail from small communities. So did Rembrandt, Vermeer, Rubens, Rousseau, Dante, Plato, Sophocles ; so did Shakespeare, for Elizabethan England was definitely a small country by modern standards. The background of the latter group has been industriously explored : it is known that these men, towering as their stature is, were only the finest representatives of communities rich in achievement. The social and intellectual conditions, the historical moment which made them react with such intensity and brilliance have been examined over and over again. The background of the former group has not. The world at large is hardly aware of the atmosphere which made their emergence possible.

Small nations cannot hope to win through by an insistence on quantity, as big nations often may : they must concentrate on quality, both on the spiritual and on the material plane. Denmark's economic prominence,

for example, is entirely due to the excellence of its produce. A small country, with limited resources, needs a gardener's care and skill to produce the best of which it is capable, and enough of it. It must know exactly what it is doing and must do it well if it wants to keep its place in the sun. It must plan carefully and train its citizens to the limit of its ability. And its citizens can hardly help being aware of this need. This is one of the reasons for the thirst for knowledge, for the high educational standards so characteristic of the small countries of the European north.

There are also other, less utilitarian reasons. In the history of many small nations, education, literature, learning and the arts played a most important part in their struggle for national self-realization. Especially the peoples that achieved independence after the 1914-1918 war in many cases owed the re-awakening of their national consciousness almost entirely to their scholars, creative writers and thinkers. This is true of Czechoslovakia, Finland and the Baltic States. Without the *Kalevala*—that magnificent epic compiled of folk runes which for the first time cogently demonstrated to the Finns the imaginative richness of their past—the Finnish national movement would have lacked an invaluable source of encouragement. An exactly parallel case is that of the kindred Estonians, two of the main stimuli of whose national awakening were the epic *Kalevipoeg* and the stirring lyrics of Lydia Koidula. Other, less emotional, more workaday factors played an important part, but the atmosphere of these national movements was largely determined by their poetry. At a time when the rigour of the foreign régime made open political struggle all but impossible, the importance and responsibility of literature and the arts were exceptionally great.

One must have lived in the Estonia of the early years of this century to realize the enthusiasm with which even the poorest people paid their contributions for the erection of a national theatre in Tallinn. It had to be the finest theatre in the country, finer than those built by the German and Russians ; and it had to have the best acting. Consequently the most gifted actors were enabled to receive the best available training : the theatre too became an element in the national struggle.

It is perhaps only natural, therefore, if the nation after achieving its political independence in 1918 did not forget the things of the spirit which what had been so vital and inspiring in the days of oppression was likely to have a similar effect in the new, brighter days. The nation, having once identified itself with its culture, retained this attitude. Education the means of political and economic self-assertion, had also equipped it for deriving genuine pleasure from the higher functionings of the mind. An impulse had thus been given which was not likely to disappear. The Government, itself emerged from the masses, understood and shared these feelings. So, when the Estonian Association of Writers proposed a scheme for a national culture fund, public as well as official opinion was unanimous in its approval. Never again should a gifted writer, painter

sculptor, actor or musician be forced to waste his talent through lack of a material basis for practising his art. Never again should a poet of distinction die in utter poverty as one of the greatest Estonian lyric writers, Juhan Liiv, had done.

One condition was regarded as absolutely essential if the arts were to yield the best they were capable of giving : they had to be free, above all untrammelled by any political considerations. No pressure was to be brought to bear on any practitioner of the arts for any material benefit he might derive from the nation. This was intended to be safeguarded by putting the cultural fund entirely in the hands of the representatives of the arts—creative writers and artists as well as critics—themselves and by letting them be chosen by the freely constituted cultural organizations of the country : it was to be a truly autonomous institution—as autonomous as the courts of law and the academic seats of learning. The only obligation to be imposed upon the beneficiaries was continued productivity on a sufficiently high artistic level—to be judged by their colleagues representing all trends and movements. But it was considered out of the question that their pace of production should be unduly forced ; it was recognized from the outset that creative activity, needs leisure and peace.

The suggestions of the Authors' Association were simple and practical. A certain percentage of the taxes on alcohol and entertainments was to be reserved for more dignified purposes : it was to be divided among the different sections of the culture fund, which were to undertake the promotion of literature, the fine arts, music, the theatre, higher journalism and physical culture ; only a certain proportion of the revenue was to be kept by the central council of the fund for emergency needs. About half the annual appropriation was to be used for personal grants supplying the recipients with a modest income, whereas the rest was to be reserved for special ventures, such as literary periodicals and important non-commercial publications, as well as for the purchase of works of art for public buildings. Special provisions were made for travel stipends so as to enable writers and artists to broaden their mental horizon by direct contact with foreign countries. An extra stimulus was provided by annual prizes, awarded by judges elected by the corresponding sections of the culture fund, and strictly non-political ; throughout the period of national independence, no distinctions were made between the right, the centre and the extreme left.

On the whole the venture was a remarkable success. The expenditure was relatively small for a country which used to spend twelve per cent. of its budget on education. But the effect was unmistakable. The need for hackwork disappeared, but no artificial barriers arose between the public and the emancipated, de-commercialized arts. The demand for good reading matter, for example, grew apace. Estonia, with just over a million people—about three-hundredths of the population of Europe—became the tenth largest book-producing country of the continent.

Every fourteenth citizen subscribed to a "highbrow" literary magazine : and the public libraries were used with an eagerness exceeded by only one country in the world—Denmark. The fine arts and the theatre benefited similarly.

In Latvia, Estonia's southern neighbour, the methods employed as well as the results were not very different. In Finland there was no national culture fund, but large privately endowed funds pursued a similar policy, and great cultural organizations subsidized by the State, such as the Finnish Literary Society, enabled men and women of talent to devote themselves to important tasks. One of the things the Finns—like the Estonians—promoted with special zeal was the translation of foreign literary classics. That genius of poetical translation, Otto Manninen, for instance, would hardly have been able to produce his superb versions of Homer, Sophocles, Molière, Goethe, Petöfi, Ibsen and Runeberg if the Finnish Literary Society had not permanently relieved him of all material cares ; nor would the fine Finnish translation of Shakespeare have come into existence at such an early date if the same organization had not helped. But original work was fostered with at least equal care : the Finnish writers would, for instance, hardly be the travelled people they are if public grants had not made it possible for them to see much more of the world than their own grey though impressive northern country.

Across the Baltic, in Scandinavia, where there had been no tyranny and no foreign oppression for hundreds of years until the last war, political and economic security created a different situation : there was no such obvious inducement to subsidize the arts on a national scale. As a result, things were left much more to chance, and writers and artists remain more dependent on the commercial market. Hence, an Estonian may make the observation that Sweden has fewer, and smaller, good literary reviews than he used to find in his own country. Yet on the whole, an immense amount, seemingly disproportionate to the size of these countries, is done both by public and by private bodies to encourage high intellectual achievement. Cultural traditions are so firmly rooted, and intellectual eminence is held in such high esteem, that few people of real ability are liable to be left adrift. Not only such organizations as the national academies but also the powerful co-operative movement can be observed to be on the look-out for talent of a non-commercial type which may be in need of assistance. The Swedish Exchequer, drawing on its statutory share in the proceeds of lotteries and football pools, enables even provincial towns to build sumptuous theatres and operas. Creative intellectual activity is not regarded as a mere by-product, however creditable, of national life but as one of its principal aims and glories. It is not for nothing that Scandinavia is the home of the Nobel Prize—an institution the prestige of which it would not give up even for vast material gains.

An important factor is the systematic intensity with which many small nations avail themselves of foreign achievements in the cultural field.

This trend is facilitated by the wide-spread and varied linguistic attainments characteristic of civilized small peoples. Their publishers' lists of translations consequently have a way of being not only long but exciting ; their periodicals keep a watchful eye on interesting intellectual developments abroad. *Bonniers Litterära Magazin*, for example, gives more space to surveys of current foreign literature—almost invariably by first-rate experts from the countries concerned—than almost any comparable present-day journal in a great world language that I have come across. Moreover, since translation is taken seriously, its average quality is high. The effect of this, as well as of much reading of foreign literature in the original languages, can well be imagined : the atmosphere becomes a European atmosphere, tense with stimulating ideas from all points of the compass ; a broadened perspective and high international standards do much to counteract any drift towards provincial complacency.

This attitude prevails among the other arts. As centres of foreign art exhibitions, concerts and visits by distinguished foreign actors, Stockholm, Helsinki and, I may add, also my own native Tallinn—a city with a population of 140,000—used to be surpassed by no place in England save only that exceptional town of London ; and there were—and this side of the iron curtain still are—comparable centres in the provinces.

Small nations have to be wide-awake. Physical inferiority makes them seek intellectual compensation, which at any rate in some respects may occasionally come near to becoming over-compensation. That this is not done at the expense of their physical well-being, at least in the European north, would seem to be suggested by their physical appearance, their athletic achievements, their general medical record and their longevity. If their cultural standards are high and their intellectual life alert, this is due to the importance attached to these things by individuals as well as by the community as a whole. The individual, knowing that his contribution is relatively more important to his small community than it would be in a bigger one, tends to react accordingly, and communal encouragement spurs him on. The smaller and poorer a country, the more it tends to value and husband its resources : hence the great amount of " planning " observable in the cultural policy of the Baltic States.

Great countries need not go as far as that ; but their occasionally somewhat carefree cultural policies might gain by an injection of greater deliberateness in exploiting their rich material. In these meagre post-war days, with the enormous tasks confronting us all, every atom of released talent counts, and little progress can be made without a general intensification of the intellectual and moral atmosphere.

(The author was formerly Professor of English at the University of Tartu, Estonia, and now works at the Bodleian, Oxford.)

RUGBY FOOTBALL

BY GORDON SYMES

WHETHER you watch or play, the same uncomplicated
Fervour like fever doubles the blood, when first there swells
That incredible roar, dividing the stands, which shall divide us all
Into reds, blues, black, white, believers and infidels.

Epic parades no less in quieter arenas.
Your limbs are sprung with turf. You stream into the wind.
While half your mind erects pavilions where
Pre-Raphaelite girls and men past arming raptly attend.

The adversary in your heart stands forth in flesh.
Now how your homicide grows hot and pure the hate
That plots his fall. Or with a sense of dedication
You plunge to die at some fanatic's tireless feet.

This war is real and naked, matching athletic angels ;
Undams the arteries' urge, the lyrical defiance
That centuries of reason have refined
To a conscript's blind endurance, bound to a bleak pinchpenny science.

Soon dusk hems in the fray, and in its tightening frame
The day intolerably balances. Fruition
Strains further out of reach and like a strangled prayer
Steam hangs above the scrum. At last the arbitration.

And suddenly we are in love with our old antagonists.
Our ears still drunk with cheers, we move, ah, to what Valhalla—
There, hidden from the upper air, chivalry strips down
To the salty jokes at the bathtub, and the fattish bellies.

The antique air leaks out. The hour collapses.
And town lamps pilot us past its melancholy wreckage
Towards the lonely tactics of choice, the living moment's guerrilla
War of nerves no final blast, no flags acknowledge.

CANDLELIGHT IN EDINBURGH

BY GEDDES MACGREGOR

BEHIND massive doors in a dark corner of one of the staircases of the Old College, in a stately room aglow with twenty-one candles eighteenth century Edinburgh lives on. Elsewhere there are but stones to tell us of its faded glories ; but here gather week by week the members of a literary club, the Speculative Society, founded in 1764, at the heyday of Edinburgh's fame as a centre of letters. They re-enact a drama in which Sir Walter Scott, Robert Louis Stevenson, Lord Brougham, Francis Horner, Lord Jeffrey, Benjamin Constant, and others no less renowned, have played a part. The flag which Stevenson flew from his yacht at Vailima hangs over the great open fireplace, the glow of which and the flickering candles in the elegant gilded chandelier, the club's oldest possession and its very palladium, cast a soft light on the two portraits on the opposite wall, one of Walter Scott by Watson Gordon and the other of Francis Horner by Henry Raeburn.

The founder of the club was William Creech, afterwards Burns's publisher and Lord Provost of Edinburgh. On its constitution were modelled the rules of many of the contemporary clubs which did not survive Edinburgh's literary decline. The club has never been exclusively the domain of lawyers ; among the early members, for example, was Dr. Gregory, whose "Mixture", for long a panacea in the nursery, made his memory bitter to our fathers. In its centenary year the society admitted Queen Victoria's second son, Prince Alfred, and Prince William of Hesse, who were then reading at Edinburgh University, and a few years later came Stevenson. The original restriction of the ordinary membership to twenty was modified ; and though the quality has naturally varied the society has always succeeded in attracting a remarkably large number of young men who later became famous. The first hall, built on a vacant site in the College, by arrangement with the College authorities, was pulled down in 1817 in which year the present rooms were erected. From the beginning the society showed a keen sense of public duty, and in 1778, when it was temporarily suffering a severe reverse in its own fortunes, it voted a hundred guineas to the fund for raising the Edinburgh corps of volunteers, surely a very generous contribution in those days from a handful of young men.

Every reader of *Le Cahier Rouge* will remember Benjamin Constant's unfortunate education at the hands of incompetent and unscrupulous tutors in Europe, till his father sent him to Edinburgh in 1783. Here

for the first time the impressionable young Swiss nobleman settled down to his books, for "*le travail était à la mode parmi les jeunes gens d'Edimbourg*", and he looked back on his sojourn as "*l'année la plus agréable de ma vie.*" All the young men he mentions were members of the Spec; Malcolm Laing the future historian; James Mackintosh who became Recorder of Bombay; and poor John Wilde, later Professor of Civil Law at Edinburgh, of whom Mackintosh wrote touchingly that he "survived his own fertile and richly endowed mind," in contrast to Constant's own blunter statement that after a brilliant career he became "*fou furieux*". In 1801, when Constant was a Tribune in France, two of his old Spec friends stood in an unhappy relation to each other: Thomas Emmet, later a distinguished lawyer in America, was then a political prisoner in Port George under the control of Charles Hope, then Lord Advocate.

Scott became secretary of the club, and his first essay was *On the Origin of the Feudal System*. This had been expanded from one read to another society, now extinct, and it was in that society, John Buchan tells us, that Scott's antiquarian predilections earned him the sobriquet of Duns Scotus. Lockhart notes Scott's carelessness in spelling at this time, evident from the minutes he kept, but says he was otherwise an efficient scribe; above all "his constant good temper softened the asperities of debate," while his sense of humour made him more popular than some more gifted orators. Lord Jeffrey recalls his first impression of Scott, who apologized to the president, pleading toothache as his excuse for having come wearing a huge woollen night-cap. Jeffrey called on Scott the following evening at his father's house in George Square, where he found him surrounded by dingy books. They adjourned to a tavern for supper, where the friendship of the two great men began. George Square, which still retains some of its old elegance* was then the haunt of the *beau monde* of both fashion and letters. Some of the residents kept their own sedan-chairs, not hiring them like taxis as was the more ordinary practice. Lady Don was one of these, and Lord Cockburn, a member of the Spec, confesses to having been in the crowd at the Tron Kirk to catch a glimpse of such splendid ladies as they swept from the silk and velvet of their magnificent, gilt sedan-chairs to the Calvinistic gloom of the kirk. They knew how to wear gorgeous dresses, with rings, fan, rustling train and exquisitely embroidered bag, all without either preciosity or lack of taste.

Towards the end of the century the club was enjoying a very lively period in its history. The effects of the French Revolution which had stirred the whole of Britain were being felt in Edinburgh society. Moreover, the Spec was at this time specially fortunate in its members, among whom were Brougham, Francis Horner, Henry Cockburn, Charles Kinnaird, and Lord Henry Petty who became Chancellor of the Exchequer at twenty-five. Political feeling ran so high at this time that a motion was

*It was recently the subject of hot dispute when plans for a vast extension of university building seemed to threaten its survival.

passed prohibiting "any attacks on the Christian religion" on the ground that these were "too much connected with revolutionary principles." The excitement brought back senior members who ranged themselves on the Tory side against the Whigs, who, however, led by Brougham, Jeffrey, Petty and Horner, came off better. But though at the turn of the century the Whig triumph was overwhelming, a new Tory element arose with great vigour under the leadership of men like John Wilson ("Christopher North") and John Gibson Lockhart. A little later still came John Stuart Blackie, about whose person many amusing stories are told; after enchanting Edinburgh for thirty years in the chair of Greek, he was chiefly responsible for the foundation of one in Celtic.

The subjects discussed by the club in its early years vividly indicate the trend of thought among the younger members of Edinburgh society in the eighteenth century. The first was on whether "theatrical representations" had been advantageous to mankind. In 1779 Prince Daschkau led in the debate: "Ought every man in Great Britain to be trained to the use of arms?" and in the following year the subjects included: "Ought the penal laws against Roman Catholics to be repealed?" and: "Would it be for the interest of Great Britain to declare America independent?" From 1783 there are records of how the voting went, and when Constant led in the debate in 1785 on: "Does national character depend most upon moral or upon physical causes?" there was a large majority for the former alternative. It is interesting to find a society of young men, many of whom might reasonably look forward to a seat on the judicial bench, answering the question: "Ought juries to be judges both of law and fact?" with a sweeping majority for the affirmative. In 1786 the society held that the constitution of the East India Company, by exclusive charter, was inconsistent with good commercial policy, and a week after this debate maintained that it was the impolitic conduct of Britain, not "the natural situation of America", that gave rise to "the late revolution". In the spring of 1790 only a majority of one favoured the view that "the late Revolution in France" would be attended by consequences as beneficial to that country as our Revolution of 1688 had been to us. The question of divorce by mutual consent was often discussed, usually with a large majority against it, though in 1796 the opponents of such a measure could muster only a majority of one. A very large majority held, in 1798, that knowledge could be "too much diffused among the lower ranks" and when Horner led in 1800 on the question: "Is commerce prejudicial to morality?" the negative was carried strongly. The view that there was an advantage in having political parties in a free state was favoured only by a narrow majority when Brougham led in a debate on this question.

In contrast to the recent wars, when the society discontinued its activities as a matter of course, the long war with France that preceded Trafalgar and Waterloo went on with only occasional references to the state of affairs abroad. We must envy the serenity of an age which found the club

passing a resolution to change the meaning of the question : " Is the present government of France likely to prove permanent ? " because since it had been set down for discussion Napoleon had escaped from Elba, Louis had fled to Lille, and the Hundred Days had begun ; it was therefore proposed to discuss the original question in reference to Napoleon's government, and the negative was carried. The closing of the continent brought to Edinburgh many Englishmen who would otherwise have gone to Europe, according to the fashion of the time, and we hear that " the Oxford men " had " actually determined upon so mad a scheme as that of giving a ball." Though " the Dutchess of Gordon . . . sett her face against it " it was too late for it to be stopped. The club evidently enjoyed its jubilee celebrations in 1814 ; we learn that when a reverend chairman had retired, Scott took the chair, " which did not impair the hilarity of the evening."

The society tried the use of gas lighting on the evening of November 28, 1837 ; but after discussion it was denounced as a failure and excluded from the hall for ever, being relegated to the library and lobby where electric light now takes its place. The milder light of wax candles was deemed well worth the extra expense it involved, and the society has never gone back on that decision. By an ancient tradition, too, the origin of which is somewhat mysterious, one of the sixteen candles in the old chandelier is always left unlit.

Gladstone, though never a member, was interested in the society ; having seen a copy of the *History* it published in 1845, he asked Lord Brougham to get him one. Lord Brougham presided over the centenary celebrations in 1864. Shortly afterwards there was an unhappy dispute with the College authorities, caused by the society's peculiar circumstance of owning its own rooms within the College precincts but having no means of egress from them after the usual hour of closing the College gates. Though closely connected with the academic life of Edinburgh, it always claimed independence of the University, being in no way subject, as are other societies within the University, to College discipline. But in 1867 the matter was amicably settled. Stevenson, admitted in the spring of 1869, has left a singularly vivid account, in a valedictory address, of his first impressions of the Spec. " When anyone spoke to me, it was more like alms-giving than conversation. I felt all the loneliness of a boy's first day at school. The interval over, I made a speech in a state of nervous exaltation that we have no language strong enough to describe. A thick, white vapour seemed to fill the room up to the level of my eyes, submerging the secretary, the librarian, and the ruck of other members ; but I could see the president towering above on his raised platform, gloomy and awful . . . I ended my night by walking home alone in the blackness of despondency. How I should have laughed anyone to scorn who had stopped me then on the Bridges and told me that I should spend in that Society some of the happiest hours of my life, and make friends from

among those very members who were now so forbiddingly polite ! ” Always confessing a great debt to the Spec, he described himself as having been in those days “ a lean, ugly, idle, unpopular student,” one who was known and pointed out for the pattern of an idler ” but who was nevertheless “ always busy on his own private end, which was to learn to write.”

Elected president for two years in succession, Stevenson was popular in the chair, but carried his office lightly in some respects, for in a letter written at Dunblane to a fellow-member he announced that, being for the time a “ rural voluptuary ” he would let the Spec “ go whistle ”. He read two essays on *John Knox and his Relations to Women*, which were the basis of papers later published in *Familiar Studies of Men and Books*. The Spec was never far from his thoughts throughout his literary career, and in his last, unfinished book, which many think his best, *Weir of Hermiston*, a scene is laid in the society’s rooms.

The prosperity of the Spec was never greater than in the ’eighties, when a variegated oratorical pattern included the Slavonic eloquence of Count Vladimir Bobrinskoy, who after holding a commission in the Russian army was degraded for political reasons ; the passionate Celtic fervour of John Alexander Smith, a Balliol man, later of Magdalen when he held a Waynflete chair at Oxford ; and the enchantments of many others among whom may be mentioned James Avon Clyde and Archibald Fleming, the future incumbent of St. Columba’s, Pont Street, London.

Though in the South African war twenty-one members served without a single fatal casualty, the losses in the two more recent wars have been extremely heavy. Yet apart from these long intervals, the society has upheld its motto, *Semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt*, in the same atmosphere of leisurely discussion in which it first met in mid-eighteenth century. The well-powdered side-curls, white cravats and silver-buckled breeches of the earlier members have been replaced by more modern forms of evening dress ; but were the ghosts of the past to visit the old room just before the members assembled, they would find themselves very much at home. The large fireplace that had so often invited them on dark, cold, Edinburgh winter nights would still attract them, and the tall, shimmering wax candles that Stevenson found so charmingly old-fashioned three-quarters of a century ago, would still be there in all their stateliness. And had they first encountered in the world outside the impact of modern civilization, such *revenants* would be happy, I think, to stay to enjoy the different tempo of their successors’ intellectual combat. As I enter the old room thus prepared, while the boisterous voices of youth are about approaching the heavy portals, I can hear, in the wistful silence within, the whisper of these ghosts exclaiming with Stevenson : “ O, I do think the Spec is about the best thing in Edinburgh.”

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THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY

HENRY JAMES

By SYLVA NORMAN

Assuming that Henry James is a writer built for permanence, his notebooks are of the greatest personal importance. In a general way too, they must have an appeal to anyone concerned with the art and craft of writing, or curious to see how novels emerge. Granted that few spring fully armed from the inventor's brain (or, Rabelaisianly, from the left ear) there are differences. Some authors shape their themes by literary shorthand. James, as we knew from the notes to his two unfinished novels, spread himself in mellow ample discourse, questioning, communing, pummelling his subject, relishing the very work on it, so that anon some magical fine passage blossoms through the close discussion, to be left there negligently, never transplanted to the final draft. The notebooks now so admirably edited in America with exactly the commentary required, represent some thirty years of their author's literary life. Or simply *of his life*, since for James nearly all incident or situation was transferable to terms of literature, and all literature must express a peak of life. "Only the fine, the large, the human, the natural, the fundamental, the passionate things." All else turned thin and poor and betrayed one miserably.

Where, then, are these fine and passionate, fundamental things to come from? The notebooks* give an answer in their remarkably thorough exposition of his mental processes from the fertilized germ, through all its rich development, to fruition. The germ is in a letter, a conversation, a story told him at a dinner party. Sometimes, from outside, it may seem trivial, almost a gossip's prattling. James knew his own capacity to dissect, transform, refashion and

intensify it, until he would see the perfect little masterpiece taking shape. At the same time—for professionalism and art were not at odds—he would compute the necessary length or brevity, though to be sure the story commissioned to suit an editor's space frequently overflowed into a novel. Everything in the end would have his quality and colouring. They can positively be watched creeping into the imperfect incident as James proceeds with his discussion. Nearly all the novels, plays and stories can be found here in embryo.

The most humanly appealing aspect of these notebooks is the picture they give of James himself. No rigid exclusion of the personal was ever his rule in them. On the contrary, in the early stages he had planned to record his "current reflections" and by snaring temporary impressions to "catch and keep something of life." So in 1881 he wrote a general retrospect of his movements in Europe in the past six years, interrupted by a moving passage on the death of his mother, for whom he had a profound and simple love. Though later he gave up the idea of memoirs a personal utterance breaks in repeatedly. This shows him happy in his working solitude, safe from casual contacts, with his ideas and characters making, as it were, a cocoon of light and warmth around him. "To keep at it," he wrote, "to strive toward the perfect, the ripe, the only best; to go on, by one's own clear light, with patience, courage and continuity, to live with the high vision and effort, to justify one's self—and oh, so greatly!—all in time: this and this alone can be my only lesson from *anything*."

Apart from the limiting pronoun the

**The Notebooks of Henry James*. Edited with an introduction and commentary by F. O. Matthiessen and Kenneth B. Murdock. Oxford University Press. 30s.

words hold something of the Shelleyan ecstasy of *Prometheus Unbound*. Again and again this poet who never wrote in verse is seen here worshipping the spirit of creation, rejoicing in his blessed sense of power to grasp the almost cosmic expansion of his subject; to recognize too the "little things of observation and reflection and fancy. . . . I hold out my arms to them, I gather them in"; and he adds, with his typical pleasure in French interpolations: "*À l'oeuvre, mon bon, à l'oeuvre!*" The heart of the matter is in him, and the tower he surveys the world from is not ivory. He is watchful for contemporary tendencies, rejects the outworn attitude unless he can place it where it still survives. After browsing in these notebooks it is hard to retreat cautiously from the opinion that Henry James is a very big man indeed.

MENTAL ABNORMALITY, by Millais Culpin. Hutchinson. 7s. 6d.

In his preface Dr. Millais Culpin explains that his design was to make a "general presentation of the psychological side of medicine and the trends of opinion in that sphere." This is especially welcome at the present time when as a result of stresses of war and the insecurity which has followed, there is disturbing familiarity with psychoneurosis and its terminology; anxiety and depressive states, symptoms of dissociation, such as fugues, loss of memory and "black-outs" are no strange language to a large number of laymen and with inadequate knowledge it is only too liable to become jargon. Increasing interest in the pleas of mental abnormality submitted by the defence in sensational criminal cases has publicized schizophrenia, moral deficiency, psychopathic personality and epilepsy. The author gives an instructive précis of these conditions, and it is interesting to observe that in the place of the term psychopathic personality, he prefers temperamental defect.

Treatment has become a matter

for general discussion and the author's brief description of shock therapy and pre-frontal leucotomy places the fundamentals of these procedures within the grasp of the reader. It would have been even more helpful if more space could have been permitted for a fuller dissertation on these methods of treatment, as the responsibility of relatives in giving consent, particularly to such an operation as leucotomy, is sometimes almost more than they can endure. There will be increasing discussion about leucotomy and its effect on the personality.

In the section on theories of mental disorder Dr. Culpin has admirably condensed into twenty-one pages what could have overflowed into a volume or two, but it is a little disconcerting to find him dismissing Jung in twelve lines. We are told that his theories do not, at least to this author, "serve the purpose of bringing observed facts into convenient formulae that can be usefully applied to facilitate thinking," and we are led to believe that the numbers of Jung's followers in this country are still small—one cannot help wondering if "convenient" formulae are not sometimes too convenient and act as a placebo to inquiring minds. To many, and I would presume to hazard far more than Dr. Culpin would have us believe, Jung is the eminent supporter of the dignity of the unconscious and a link between religion and psychiatry.

The psychological aspects of juvenile delinquency have been attracting much attention and a paragraph on the maladjusted child would have been very acceptable. Within the compass at his disposal the author must have felt obliged to omit a wealth of information which would have given him the greatest satisfaction to include. What Dr. Millais Culpin has achieved is to offer his readers a wise minimum of information but sufficient to assist them to extricate truth from untruth amongst the jumble of pseudo-knowledge which besets them on every side.

GUY RICHMOND.

A NEW THEORY OF HUMAN EVOLUTION, by Sir Arthur Keith.

Watts. 21s.

In this book Sir Arthur Keith advances two main theories of human evolution. The first is that the decisive element in the machinery of evolution was the formation of small isolated and homogeneous local groups in which inbreeding was the rule, and the evolutionary process accordingly accelerated, in much the same way as it is now in a breeder's herd of pedigree cattle. In these isolated groups, in which incipient humanity existed during the primal (or pre-agricultural) period of human evolution, the minimum length of which is estimated at a million years, the foundations of human nature were laid. By far the most important elements of this are the twin instincts or predispositions: for co-operation or amity within the group, and for hostility towards other groups. This dual morality has been, according to Sir Arthur, the most potent factor in the evolutionary process.

What obtained in the long primal period, obtained also in the comparatively very brief post-primal period which followed the invention of agriculture. The small local groups of what had been an incredibly sparsely populated world now coalesced into village communities and embryo nations. The population the earth could maintain vastly increased. Nevertheless, the fundamental behaviour pattern remained the same: only the size of the evolutionary unit was changed. Thus we reach the author's second basic proposition: "The mentality and evolutionary behaviour of a nation is that of a primal local group." This explains the strength of nationalism, which is a manifestation of the primeval evolutionary urge.

It is difficult to decide, with any degree of conviction, whether the author is guilty of over-simplification in such a statement as the following:

I hold that the nations of Europe are race-making units in the original sense of that term. Evolution in Europe is being carried

on by co-operation within national groups and by competition between them: thus Europe is in a continuous state of turmoil.

Up to a point it appears to fit the facts. The resistance of Yugoslavia to the Cominform suggests that the urge of the race-nation is still more powerful than that of ideology. Outside Europe it accounts for the situation in India. But what of China? Are the communists there to be regarded as a race-making unit—and on what grounds?

Perhaps Sir Arthur has been more explicit about these problems in another volume. What emerges from this one is that he must regard international Communism as a purely transitory phenomenon, and the U.S.S.R. as a necessarily short-lived attempt to establish an Empire, which will be disrupted by nationalist pressures. But if we accept that nationalism is a more powerful urge than the Marxian class-struggle, it is hard to see why it should not prove more powerful than the urge to establish co-operation between the nations. At what point, and in what circumstances, does an ideal aim triumph over the primal urge to evolutionary competition? Another form of the question is: can the evolutionary competition be carried on by other means than national war?

The author does not attempt to answer these questions. He is content to declare his confidence that in the next few centuries "nationalism, so far from weakening, will grow ever stronger. Modern nations are still imperfectly nationalized; the process will not cease until every nation is integrated into a unity such as was met with in the evolutionary units of primal humanity." How do we translate this dictum into contemporary terms? Does it imply that a totalitarian organization of national societies is probable? Or that a voluntary confederation of nations is impracticable? Certainly, Sir Arthur is dogmatic on the impossibility of forming a United States of Europe on the American pattern. "Nothing less than clearing Europe and resettling it as

America was settled could give Europe a single tongue and a united front." But no-one dreams of a Europe with a single tongue. The question is whether a multi-lingual and multi-cultural, but united Europe is possible.

On the whole we must regard Sir Arthur's book as a grim reminder of the weakness of the urge of the ideal compared to the strength of man's evolutionary urge. But has not human evolution itself reached an impasse such that it can no longer be carried on by warfare? That, to Sir Arthur, is no doubt a nonsensical suggestion. Evolution, like His Majesty's Government, must be carried on, in spite of all moral obstacles. But there is in Sir Arthur's book always the vague suggestion that evolution is a progress of some kind. What kind of progress would be achieved by mutual atomic obliteration it is hard to conceive.

J. MIDDLETON MURRY.

TOWARDS A DYNAMIC ECONOMICS, by R. F. Harrod. *Macmillan*. 7s. 6d.

Here we have well reproduced and reasonably priced five lectures given in February 1947 to a London University audience by the learned co-editor of the *Economic Journal*. Mr. Harrod is an agile and original thinker and his skilful analysis of the economics of expansion breaks new ground, but one wonders whether his answers to the questions he provoked in his audience (if there were any) facilitated their comprehension of his central thesis. For even the advantage of leisured reading does not make understanding easy for a wider audience not so agile or professionally proficient. The validity of his fundamental dynamic theorems must be left to the specialists to dispute; the lay reader may well doubt whether, apart from the delight of observing the expert revel in his technical exercises, the result achieved justifies for any practical purpose the major effort required.

For Mr. Harrod is not concerned with economics as we know them here

and now, but with a period of expected stagnation (less remote in the United States than in this country) when shortages will have disappeared and the stability of our economy will be threatened by too much saving. Accepting, as nowadays do most economists, the inherent suicidal tendency of uncontrolled capitalism as a system which thus by boom and slump generates mass unemployment, the author, being no socialist, is concerned to devise a return to some automatic self-regulating mechanism which will at once limit the politician's intrusion into economics and make free enterprise more palatable to the social groups who benefit least from it.

The mechanism he offers for dealing both with the short term trade-cycle and the long term 'stagnation' is a stabilization fund linked to a commodity reserve of buffer stocks of goods, the level of which will from year to year decide for the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he should budget for a deficit or a surplus, a budget deficit (involving taxation relief) being financed by special savings certificates with a guaranteed goods value drawn against the reserve. He envisages under this system the possible transition to a long term policy of sustained subvention to purchasing power (necessitated by a chronic tendency to insufficient demand), and the abolition of interest, as an alternative to the collectivist attack upon the capitalists' cumulative oppressive power to exploit the scarcity value of capital.

There are some startling propositions. Thus, the tendency to concentrate responsibility on the Government for basic decisions affecting economic life is "inconsistent with democratic control." There is a nostalgic lament for the prospective euthanasia of the *rentier* which is implicit in Mr. Harrod's system, but the author's baroque spiritual yearnings prompt the abolition of death duties as a *quid pro quo*, because a corpus of inherited wealth is necessary for maintaining democratic culture! The communists would make mincemeat of this fantasy, which prospect will hardly recommend it to the socialists

for whom it is intended as the road of escape from their "tiresome totalitarian proclivities."

When translated from those elysian fields in which the professional economists elegantly fight their duels to the raw air of politics this esoteric piece of brainwork becomes undeniably inept. If Mr. Harrod qualifies as, to quote Sir Hubert Henderson's recent comment to the British Association economists, one of the most pushing salesmen of enervating fools' paradises his utopia is at least one whose political chances of attainment are approximately zero.

EWAN WALLIS-JONES.

THE AMERICAN UNION: A Short History of the U.S.A., by H. G. Nicholas. *Christophers*. 10s. 6d.

Many a time has the historian paused, pen in hand, to reflect: "If only this or that had not happened . . . if only that man, not this, had held the helm of public affairs, how different would be the tale I have to tell." In the history of the United States, the historian finds that moment in the autumn of 1774 and pauses to say: "If only almost anyone but Lord North had been in office in England, the history of Anglo-American relations might well have taken a different course." But, Lord North *was* in power: the Continental Congress in American *had* resolved to defy him; and in April 1775, Paul Revere's Ride gave the signal for the War of Independence. Yet, not precisely independence; for, it is a significant fact that six months later Colonel George Washington and his fellow officers still rose to their feet in the mess to drink to "the King".

The story of all this, and of all that was to follow from Washington to Franklin Roosevelt, is well told by Mr. Nicholas in this compact book. It is, what the author calls it, a short history of the United States of America; and its appearance to-day is a good sign of the times. There was never a moment since the American Declaration of Independence when a true perception of the origin of those United States was

more necessary in this United Kingdom; and, be it said, at no time in the history of Anglo-American relations was it as essential as it is now, for Americans to place the policy of the old country in the light of historic truth. In giving a welcome to Mr. Nicholas for his useful *aperçu* on American history, let us acknowledge that America has for years past enjoyed the competent service of native historians who have been at pains to dispel many early legends about Great Britain that passed for truth in some American text-books. There have, in fact, been more false perceptions in the American mind than in the British; but they are steadily being removed; and in moving from a continental and purely American stance into a central position in world affairs, the people of the United States may be trusted to appreciate many things in British policy which have hitherto been dark to them.

Judged purely as American history, this little book is as good a guide for the British reader as any yet published. It contains portraits of "the founding fathers", of Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison and the rest. Unlike some modern writers who preen themselves before the mirror of "democracy" Mr. Nicholas does justice to Alexander Hamilton and shows clearly that Hamilton's policy in the American Treasury when all was still in the making, was a necessary and statesmanlike design. He reveals, too, the manner in which the Constitution rapidly became more "democratic" than its authors may have intended; and, by a timely quotation from Washington's Farewell Address he discloses the tap-root of American "isolation": "Europe", said Washington in 1796, "has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence therefore it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities."

This "remote relation" to Europe remained the keynote for three-quarters of a century—and for one over-mastering

reason. From Washington's time till near the end of the nineteenth century all Americans looked westward. To them the frontier was the lodestar; and Europeans must bear in mind that, while in the old continent the "frontier" was a barrier at which one thing stopped and another thing began, in the new continent the frontier was an open door of opportunity leading through the boundless prairie to new lands beckoning the adventurous to new exploits. The story of the great imperial movement which carried the Stars and Stripes from the Atlantic to the Pacific is briefly and graphically told in this book. And when Mr. Nicholas comes to the latest phase, he shows how the new world was confronted with much the same economic and social problems as the old, and how the New Deal of the second Roosevelt came into being. Altogether, a book to be commended.

FREDERICK WHYTE.

THE ARABS, by Professor Philip K. Hitti. *Macmillan*. 10s. 6d.

Professor Hitti's description of his book as "addressed not to the scholar but to the general reader," might be taken to be an apology. No apology is needed. His history is not only scholarly: it is clear, arresting, entertaining and instructive. He has written with a double purpose. His first is to describe the rise and fall between A.D. 632 and A.D. 1520 of the Arab Empire which by the eighth century—that is before there was an English King—extended "from the Bay of Biscay to the Indus and the confines of China and from the Sea of Aral to the Upper Cataracts of the Nile." His second is an account of Arab civilization of the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries and what the later western civilization of the Middle Ages owed to it.

The historical narrative covers the successive régimes of the Umayyads of Damascus, the Abbassids of Baghdad and the Fatimids of Egypt, and, beginning with the period of conquest, his story passes to the problem of the government of conquered lands and ends with an

analysis of the reasons for the eventual disintegration which was complete by the sixteenth century when Ottoman power asserted itself over the former Arab conquests in the Middle East and Northern Africa. Arab nationalism was eclipsed. But Islam survived.

So also the influence of Arab culture on the west. Arab culture had absorbed much of Hellenic culture and passed it on—embellished by its own scholarship and science—to the still undeveloped west; and Professor Hitti's recitation of Arab discoveries in medicine, mathematics, astronomy, sea-navigation and architecture—to mention a few fields only—is most impressive.

Other noteworthy chapters cover the story of Mohammed's mission and describe the origin and tenets of Islam; and there are also full accounts of the brilliance of Umayyad rule in Spain which survived the destruction of the dynasty in Damascus by the Abbassids; of the ephemeral success of the Crusades

CHRISTOPHERS

By
H. G. NICHOLAS
Fellow of Exeter College

THE AMERICAN UNION

"A short, lucid and unbiassed history... it gives the whole story from Walter Raleigh to the atomic bomb"—HAROLD NICHOLSON
in the *Daily Telegraph*
10/6 Net.

By **L. P. MAIR, PH.D.**

AUSTRALIA IN NEW GUINEA

A comprehensive survey
of the New Guinea Mandate
with an introduction
by Lord Hailey.
November.

in the Holy Land ; of the extraordinary rise to power of the slave-recruited Mamluks in Egypt ; and of the terrible Mongol invasions of Hulagu and later of Tamerlane.

The book deserves a wide reading public. Arab power asserted itself in medieval times : it cannot be ignored to-day. Its seat of power is not only of world strategic importance, but it also contains one of the great oil repositories of the world. Nor must it be forgotten that "every eighth person in our world is a follower of Mohammed and the Moslem call to prayer is heard almost round the world every twenty-four hours of the day."

Professor Hitti's sober picture of what the Arabs with all their faults—and they are many—meant and to-day still mean, is a wholesome antidote to all the shallow and *ex-parte* propaganda which the Palestine problem has provoked.

The book has eight excellent maps illustrating Arab history up to the days of the Ottoman Empire.

OWEN TWEEDY.

MR. ATTLEE — An Interim Biography, by Roy Jenkins. *Heinemann*. 12s. 6d.

MAKERS OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT, by Margaret Cole. *Longmans, Green*. 15s.

THE CONCERN FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE PURITAN REVOLUTION, by W. Schenk. *Longmans, Green*. 15s.

Mr. Attlee is not a great subject for biography ; at least not the kind of biography which relies on deeds to hold the readers under spell. Mr. Attlee's place is on the edge of the limelight, where the shadows are darkest yet one senses that a figure is there. He reached his present position as Prime Minister almost by mistake and gives the impression that though determined to do his job he still wishes it was something else. Perhaps that really is his wish ; certainly he is one of the very few Prime Ministers who have thought consistently of others rather than of himself.

It is easy therefore to damn Mr.

Jenkins's effort with faint praise. He has done what he set out to do, writing a chronological biography, ending in 1945. He strives to make Mr. Attlee a hero but he gets no help. Mr. Attlee is interested in accuracy not in glorification where to his mind, one suspects, no excuse for glorification exists. The book thus becomes the story of events with Mr. Attlee always somewhere about.

Yet for all that Mr. Attlee is a hero and in a grudging way the world acknowledges it. For when one closes Mr. Jenkins's book, knowing far more about the Prime Minister than one knew before, the worth of this man stands out most plainly. He changed his political convictions from Conservative to Labour because experience argued he must ; he gave up a career for social service because for him it was the only work worth doing ; although not a councillor he became mayor of Stepney because the people turned to him ; and he was one of only three—Lansbury and Sir Stafford Cripps were the others—Labour members with front bench experience returned to Parliament in 1931 because he was trusted. And he is trusted still. If his qualities do not rise much above tenacity of purpose, unselfishness, competence and thoroughness they are qualities much needed to run the team. Someday the biography will be written which will relate not what he did but why he did it.

Mrs. Cole in her book is faced with a different task. Heroes, with rascally qualities some of them, abound. It is a mixed bag with Tom Paine, William Cobbett (yes, even William Cobbett), Feargus O'Connor, Robert Owen, John Stuart Mill, William Morris, James Keir Hardie, Sidney Webb, George Lansbury and H. G. Wells, with others, all jostled together. Quarrelling some of them must surely be but it is a lively party.

The idea of *Makers of the Labour Movement* is good. Short biographies are all the present generations of little politicians are likely to want. But the method has its drawbacks. Not much that is new is offered and in parts it is a book that any industrious student might have written without half the knowledge

possessed by Mrs. Cole. Moreover, Mrs. Cole is at times too matter of fact and spiritual qualities apparently escape her.

Probably there will never be much agreement about the amount of honour which should be paid to the Levellers for their social ideas. Were the Levellers levellers as Dr. Schenk asks in one of his chapters in *The Concern for Social Justice in the Puritan Revolution*? And it is plain that an answer can only be reached by careful qualification. Ideas were confused and only half developed. In part the unrest fostered by the Levellers was no more than an old-fashioned revolt of men against masters, in part the stirring of impulses which two centuries were to put under control. And the whole was intricately complicated by religious convictions and credulities. Dr. Schenk picks his way through the maze by the prerogative of diligent research. The result is a helpful and readable volume.

JOHN ARMITAGE.

THE CHALLENGE OF SCHWEITZER, by John Middleton Murry. *Jason Press.* 6s.

Albert Schweitzer has to admit that the living person of Christ is unknown to him. This is the danger which Mr. Murry feels he must rebut. Christianity without a personal Christ is by no means Christianity to Mr. Murry, for he, unlike Dr. Schweitzer, experiences Jesus as a person. He quotes with approval T. S. Eliot's definition of "the Spirit's greatest treason—the right thing done for the wrong motive." It is a saying which I personally feel to be arrogant, for it seems to imply that it is more important to be righteous (or even to be orthodox) than to do right; or that there is, so to speak, a copyright in motives.

Mr. Murry regards Jesus as the *centre* of human history—an explosion into history once and for all. Dr. Schweitzer regards Jesus as the most important but not necessarily the final contributor to ethical enlightenment.

Both have acted upon their faith, such as it is, believing it to be worth the experiment of a lifetime. I record my impression, for what it is worth, that Mr. Murry is the uneasy protester. In the debate that he here conducts, beside Dr. Schweitzer's calm and patient attempt to see things dispassionately, Mr. Murry's behaviour appears touchy and not so disinterested as he would like.

He is concerned to defend what he calls positive mysticism and he is at a disadvantage, because, Dr. Schweitzer, though himself avoiding the appeal to mysticism, does not really decry it. Mr. Murry says that Dr. Schweitzer is a mystic *manqué*. Well, if he is, he is; and it would hardly have been honest in him to advocate an interpretation of Christianity of which he was personally incapable. Mr. Murry declares that mystical communion with a living Christ is central to Christianity. Some who are not converts to a personal Jesus may yet, Dr. Schweitzer hopes, find a reasonable basis for the altruism which they feel, and which is of the same kind as Christ's own altruism. That Dr. Schweitzer is in error for Mr. Murry (and for T. S. Eliot) is not, I think, so complete an error in Christianity as Mr. Murry would like to believe. They cannot share Jesus. But this is not to say that Jesus cannot share them.

Lastly, Mr. Murry is at great pains to prevent if he can the acceptance of Dr. Schweitzer's principle of reverence for life. Carried to absurd extremes it would, he says, 'destroy human society'. What he chooses to pretend that Dr. Schweitzer means—that no form of life must ever be made to suffer or to die—is an arbitrary and wilful definition; reverence is a mental attitude, it is the opposite of ruthlessness, and of thoughtlessness. One can weed a garden reverently, or ruthlessly. I am sure that Mr. Murry will see that one can even kill a poisonous snake reverently, or ruthlessly, necessarily or unnecessarily. "I am non-plussed (he writes) to find Schweitzer enouncing 'as the final truth of ethics an axiom which gives me no practical

guidance at all." This principle does not say: "Be kind to your neighbour because this ensures the solidarity of society"; it says: "Be universally kind, whenever the choice occurs." It does not say it is a sin to pluck a flower or kill a moth; it says do not pluck flowers or kill moths without first greeting the divine principle in them. No practical guidance? Even Mr. Murry may be surprised how much such an acceptance of responsibility on his part may enrich his spirit in an hour.

Perhaps it is not irrelevant to remember that of late Mr. Murry has been in need of arguments to prove that it may sometimes be necessary to destroy human beings. To those who experience this dilemma the doctrine of revelation is useful. What cannot be proved cannot be disproved. The Fatherhood of God is a tenet of this order. Evidence of it in things created is clearly not intended. But reason can test and allow, by evidence from within and without, that there is a principle of sympathy widely to be found and reckoned on in the natural heart of many men.

FRANK KENDON.

ANCIENT GREEK RELIGION, by H. J. Rose. *Hutchinson's University Library.* 7s. 6d.

Acquaintance with Greek culture begins, for most of us (and usually ends, alas, at an early age), with a mythological approach by way of Charles Kingsley, who painted in *The Heroes* a highly idealized picture of Greek religion. The anthropomorphic gods of those times were very real to the Greeks, thanks to the genius of Homer in delineating even the smallest details. Indeed at a much later date Phidias, the famous Athenian sculptor, based his work upon the Homeric interpretation of the gods. Used as we are to a single deity it is difficult for us to envisage the complications of polytheism—the propitiation of numerous gods, the choosing of the appropriate moment at which to perform quite simple tasks, the constant fear of offence and punishment. Pro-

fessor Rose, in this very readable book, quotes Hesiod, that eighth century B.C. poet of the soil, who intersperses good, sound advice on agriculture with ethical maxims of this kind:

Do not ford the fair-flowing water of perennial streams till thou hast prayed, turning thine eyes towards those fair currents, and washed thy hands in clear water. For he who crosses a river evilly, with unwashed hands, with him the gods are wroth and send him woes thereafter.

Professor Rose traces the history of Greek religion from earliest times. Not much is known of the Pelasgians who might be loosely termed the aborigines of the country and existed too long ago (about the third or second millennium B.C.) for reliable information to have survived. Later, other cultures infiltrated, including Indo-European from the north, Cretan, which derived some of its characteristics from Egypt, and Mycenaean. An interesting chapter is devoted to a description of the ecclesiastical calendar in which individual festivals and the gods associated with them are pictured in some detail. Finally there was contact with the east after the Persian war and in the Hellenistic age in which Greece became familiar with king-worship. All these contributed to the evolution of Greek religion, the later developments—in which the old gods were discounted and new cults appeared—bringing Greece nearer to monotheism, and Christianity.

The dust-jacket describes Professor Rose's book as "a short, non-technical account for the general reader" and the author has succeeded in the 150 pages at his disposal in presenting an interesting and comprehensive summary of the subject. There are matters which of necessity suffer from such drastic condensation and a previous general knowledge of Greek history and culture heightens one's appreciation considerably. For the seeker after further knowledge, however, a selective bibliography is provided thus enabling the "unprofessional student who wishes to pursue his chosen subject systematically up to something like University standard" (again quoting the dust-jacket on

the aims of this series) to carry his reading to a more intensive pitch. The value of the book for the general reader, however, would have been increased by a few illustrations and a more attractive format.

FELICIA M. McADAM.

BIRDS OF A VALLEY, by W. R. Philipson. *Longmans*. 10s. 6d.

IN THE HIGH GRAMPIANS, by Richard Perry. *Lindsay Drummond*. 15s.

THE JEFFERIES COMPANION: arranged and introduced by Samuel J. Looker. *Phoenix House*. 8s. 6d.

Mr. Philipson knows that part of the Lake District at the south end of Ullswater which is called Patterdale with a knowledge that only years of study in all seasons of the year can achieve. The first reaction of one who loves the same district is of anger lest the attractiveness of his book may lead others who do not know it to invade a favourite haunt of peace. But it is not possible to remain in such a mood of selfishness for long as Mr. Philipson, who has the rare gift of making his personal experiences the centre of the book without in any way obtruding his own individuality, describes the activities of the birds of this valley.

The author is evidently a lucky man, as there is hardly a month of the year when he has not been able to visit his valley. As a result his observations fit into a pattern which has an interest that no superficial or merely seasonal account could give. Ravens, peregrines, kestrels, merlins and buzzards are some of the birds that cannot fail to thrill, but he is by no means unready to interest himself and his readers in commoner ones such as lapwings, moorhens, dabchicks, gulls, and even thrushes and blackbirds. This is pleasantly refreshing at times for the ordinary reader who can the more easily observe the latter, though this may well inspire such a one to look also for the less common goldcrest or pied flycatcher, or

perhaps most rewarding of all to listen for the call of the curlew.

Mr. Philipson has included also two general chapters on migration and on the roosting habits of birds. The second is peculiarly fascinating and should tempt many to use their powers of observation in this field if to do so can be so absorbing as it would seem. His writing is distinguished by its clarity and the book is beautifully illustrated with woodcuts by Claire Oldham.

Mr. Richard Perry's *A Naturalist on Lindisfarne* won praise from many readers and in giving us this picture of the wild part of Scotland round the Cairngorms and the Grampians, he is likely again to delight all those whose joy in a countryside centres largely on its animal and bird life. Mr. Perry's reputation stands highest as an ornithologist and as might be expected birds fill a great part of his book. Most interesting are probably the golden eagle, the ptarmigan, the snow bunting and the crossbill or such birds as the dotterel and oystercatcher but, like Mr. Philipson, the author does not neglect the commoner birds and he gives much space to chaffinches and tits. There is much too about animals (the red deer in particular has a chapter to itself), insects and flowers. An excellent map and a number of distinguished photographs handsomely illustrate the book.

Those who find pleasure in books about nature have turned of late more and more to the many works of Richard Jefferies. As a writer on his subject his style is unique and his many devotees will delight to have selections from so many of his books in the convenient form provided by *The Jefferies Companion*. The compiler of this volume has made a well-balanced selection of Jefferies' work which, attractively illustrated, largely with engravings of Charles Whympers' drawings in the 1880 edition of *The Gamekeeper at Home*, is likely to inspire the casual reader to explore the full versions of Jefferies' writings for himself.

J. F. BURNET.

BOOKS ON THE TABLE

This month they are pervaded by the tranquillity of "The Hay Wain" and "Flatford Mill". JOHN CONSTABLE: *His Life and Work* (*Phoenix House*, 15s.), in conspiracy with the sympathetic treatment of its author, Sydney J. Key, and the lavishness of the publishers, is the welcome spreader of unwonted serenity. There are fifty reproductions of the artist's paintings and drawings in this treasure of a book, all breathing country air and full of the picturesque in country life. Mr. Key notes Constable's "eye for both details and panoramas, buildings as well as trees and meadows, broad daylight and the more subtle light of evening" and turns a reader's tentative opinion, formed in the Tate and the National Galleries and the Victoria and Albert Museum, into brazen conviction that here is one of the greatest of all landscape painters, undeservedly overshadowed by Turner and the rise of the Pre-Raphaelite movement.

Post-war generation

Constable was late in his 'teens before his gift for sketching overrode the miller in him. In *RIISING TWENTY* (*Faber & Faber*, 8s. 6d.) Pearl Jephcott provides some "notes on ordinary girls" who might, given the encouragement that Constable had of discerning friends, develop at least into individuals, with souls inside the bodies. Take seventeen-year-old Celia the brushmaker, for instance: her 'novel' is copied in full exactly as written and the difference between this and the early work of many popular novelists must only be one of degree; or Phyllis Reade, whose father and grandfathers were miners, and who, working in a clothing factory, liked gardening and cycling as well as films twice a week, American crime magazines and Walter de la Mare. It is information such as this that relieves the more frightening aspects of the book and saves the reader from depression and despair.

Miss Jephcott herself has no room for pessimism; she presents her facts objectively yet with an underlying current of love and understanding of her girls, and does no more than indicate to the reader where the mass-producing effects of cinema, dance-hall, unskilled labour and uncaring parents may be counteracted—where having a good time means also drawing "regularly on some form of refreshment for the spirit." The laconic approach, coupled with the readability of Miss Jephcott (the darting street children "more like minnows than mammals" always in their own small shoal!), makes her third book on girls as valuable a study of social conditions as was its predecessors.

Man's inhumanity

And what of social conditions in Spain? Those who think shudderingly that because he hates Communism the democracies may in time look with pleasure on the blood-stained General Franco, will hope for a wide circulation of *SPANISH SUMMARY* (*Hutchinson*, 7s. 6d.) by Francis Noel-Baker, M.P. As Lady Megan Lloyd George says in her Foreword, it will help "to keep public opinion here and elsewhere constantly aware of the facts." In trying to correct the paradox of the survival of the Franco dictatorship three years after the end of the world war against Fascism, the author suggests two ways by which a change of government might be achieved: disintegration from within the régime and foreign pressure, with the onus of the second on the nations which destroyed Hitler and Mussolini.—That these two gangsters rehearsed in Spain their rôle for the 1939-1945 war is not to be disputed, and consideration of the application of new techniques to bloodshed brings us to the question of how far scientists are answerable for the increase of thuggery.

F. B. Welbourn in *SCIENCE AND HUMANITY* (*S.C.M. Press*, 4s.) says that

the responsibility of "those directly concerned with the production of the atomic bomb," "in the social and ethical problem which it sets, has been vigorous and enlightened to an exceptional degree." It is hard for the man in the street, as it is for the practising Christian who is not also a scientist, to determine how much or how little this means; as the author would agree, for he himself refers to the impossibility of communication between men trained in different disciplines. His book is an attempt to cross the space that divides science from Christianity, and is recommended to those who long—desperately—for an answer to his own question: "Where are we to find the ethos which is adequate to the present technical age?"

Flashes of certainty

And now for a struggle with the language of mysticism, still another "different discipline". And still another attempt to cross the space is *THE HAPPY ISSUE* (Faber & Faber, 12s. 6d.) which, says Warner Allen, completes the record of a pilgrimage from the central reality of Mystic Union to the limitations of experience on the circumference of the Self, seeking its fulfilment in the reconciling of intuition and inspiration with reason and logic, and the healing of the ancient scission between the truth of religion and the truth of philosophy or science, the heresy of the Double Truth.

He goes a stage further along the "Mystic Way" from the initial vision, which gave birth to his book *The Timeless Moment*, experienced between two demi-semi-quavers in Beethoven's Seventh Symphony. The unmystical would say of course that giving visions is what Beethoven's Seventh and the other eight are for. (And who hasn't ached to play better a sonata of Beethoven's because of a vision of how Beethoven meant it to be played?) But the "practical message" of Mr. Allen's particular mystical experience is nothing less than "the solution of life." And, when he has passed through an examination of the four seals of certainty, eternity, divinity and humility, of Jansenism and of Pascal's illumination, he comes to "the happy issue" that the

formula, *God is Love*, "makes sense of the world," a conclusion that even the unmystical cannot but commend.

Partners

A book that seeks to cross another kind of space is *JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY* (Gollancz, 10s. 6d.) by James Parkes. Its main thesis is "the equal permanence and validity of the revelation of Sinai and Calvary" and, as "each has historically assumed to itself a greater measure of divine authority than it concedes to the other," the difficulties in resolving conflict are increased. This contribution from a Christian clergyman should give comfort and hope to Jewish readers, for it combines a rare comprehension, that Judaism's equal place in the purpose of God makes it a living religion, with a reminder of their obligations to Christians and Jews alike, joint or separate. He stresses the often forgotten truth that anti-Semitism is a Gentile, not a Jewish problem, and gives the reason that "it is a highly organized political movement, which is used as a smoke screen by every kind of enemy . . . of democratic and liberal thinking"; just as it is the anti-Semite, not the Jew, who is degraded by anti-Semitism. Mr. Parkes' book is a warning to those who indulge in the drug that this is but the forerunner of the conquest of "the human soul and human decency," a point of view confirmed by the history of the last twenty years in Germany.

Cambridge and Durham

To turn to *CHRISTIANITY IN SOUTHERN FENLAND* (Bowes & Bowes, Trinity Street, Cambridge, 12s. 6d.) is to meet with a no more complicated issue, raised by the illustrations, than that of geography. This the author, the Rev. R. F. McNeile, explains at once by admitting that his later chapters stretch further than Fenland proper as his research and interest grew. The result is a refreshing and scholarly history of the effects of the Danes, of monasticism, of the Black Death and Lollardism, of the Reformation, of the Civil War and the Restoration on the Church of England life of

Cambridgeshire. As is appropriate, the Bishop of Ely writes a Foreword and rightly congratulates the author on the success of his task.—Brilliantly successful, too, has been the task of G. H. Cook who in *PORTRAIT OF DURHAM CATHEDRAL* (*Phoenix House*. 12s. 6d.) has made a beautiful history of the architecture of "the least altered of all the Norman churches in England, being substantially as it was in the twelfth century." There are copious photographs and drawings, including a folding plan, which, with the author's descriptive gifts, make the whole an indispensable study before, during and after a visit to the cathedral.

Rienzi to Rattigan

And talking of sightseeing brings us to the episode recounted in the Earl of Lytton's biography of *BULWER-LYTTON* (*Home & Van Thal*. 6s.). When he visited Pompeii in 1927 he was told by his Italian guide that "*Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompeii*" was still the best text-book available, and when I said that I was the author's grandson he immediately uncovered, bowed, and addressing me as "Mr. Bulwer" treated me all day with a deference which could not have been more marked had I been Mussolini himself!" *The Last Days of Pompeii*, long since lost by a conscienceless borrower, is seen through the haze of childhood, when Arbaces with his wickedness sent delicious thrills down the spine; but memory would certainly concur that this outstanding book is one by which Bulwer-Lytton is judged by posterity. As for his grandson's: its 108 pages were read at a lying—between bed and sleeping.—Many of the names in the index of *Bulwer-Lytton* appear in that of *THE ENGLISH THEATRE* (*Paul Elek*. 6s.) and J. C. Trewin has one reference, disparaging, to the plays of the novelist-historian-politician-essayist-poet-dramatist. Yet Mr. Trewin's book has already proved a most useful information bureau for the theatre-goer. Some of his lightning surveys are of the quality

known as 'slick' but in a work of this kind it would be unfair to expect great draughts of profundity. Its range, only to be encompassed within the eye-tiring Dutch type, is astonishing; from the Elizabethans to the "little theatres" it skips and trips. The photographs revive *memorabilia* and help to fortify hearty agreement with a verdict of the author:

We are lucky to be living in a day when Laurence Olivier can illumine Richard the Third and Lear, John Gielgud is a Hamlet in the high tradition, and Ralph Richardson's Falstaff governs the Boar's Head Tavern.

World Shakespeare

Sir Laurence Olivier's *Lear* is assessed, with Philip Morant's, William Devlin's and Abraham Sofaer's, in Charles Landstone's article in *SHAKESPEARE SURVEY I* (*Cambridge University Press*. 12s. 6d.). Edited by Allardyce Nicoll, it is issued under the sponsorship of the University of Birmingham, the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre and the Shakespeare Birthday Trust as the first of "a series of yearly volumes dealing with Shakespearean discovery, history, criticism and production over all the world." This, like Mr. Trewin's book, is excellently illustrated and also supplies the weight his lacks. It makes good reading to one who feels emotional whenever the name of Shakespeare is uttered.

For the host's room too

Shakespeare, no Catholic, does not appear in *THE GUEST ROOM BOOK* (*Sheed & Ward*. 10s. 6d.) assembled by F. J. Sheed. But G. K. Chesterton, another emotion rouser, does—and speaks for the quality of the collection. Here are Katherine Mansfield, Voltaire, Eric Gill, Alfred Noyes and Thomas Aquinas among others, with the dearly-loved Hilaire Belloc to give the *coup de grâce* to the public speaker:

A man stands on a platform. He is about to address a packed audience of swindlers, cowards, bounders, painted harridans and trulls. He opens his mouth to address them. What does he say? He says: "Ladies and Gentlemen."

GRACE BANYARD.